DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 092 426 SO 007 512

TITLE Legislative Process, Grade Eight. Resource Unit (Unit IV).
INSTITUTION Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Project Social Studies Curriculum Center.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Cooperative Research Program.
BUREAU NO CRP-HS-045
PUB DATE 66
NOTE 192p.; Some pages of marginal legibility; For related documents see SO 007 509 through SO 007 515

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$9.00 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Behavior Patterns; Case Studies; Elections; *Federal Government; *Government (Administrative Body); Grade 8; Law Instruction; Legislation; *Legislators; Political Issues; *Political Science; Politics; Resource Units; *Social Studies Units; Units of Study (Subject Fields); Voting
IDENTIFIERS Legislative Branch; *Project Social Studies

ABSTRACT

This resource unit, developed by the University of Minnesota's Project Social Studies, introduces eighth graders to the legislative process. The unit uses case studies such as the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964 and attempts to change the Rules Committee in 1961. It also uses much data on background of congressmen and on distribution of committee chairmen according to region, and analyzes voting behavior in terms of district represented. Objectives are followed by the main body of the unit which contains two content outlines. The first outline presents an organized body of content to illustrate the relationship of the content to the major generalizations and teaching activities. The second outline suggests the order in which content might be taught. A bibliography and a teacher's film guide concludes the unit. The teacher's guide is SO 007 511. (Author/KSM)

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Grade Eight
UNIT IV: LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

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RESOURCE UNIT

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These materials were developed by the Project Social Studies Curriculum Center of the University of Minnesota under a special contract with the Cooperative Research Division of the United States Office of Education, effective prior to July 14, 1965. (Project HS-045).

1966

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INTRODUCTION TO UNIT

[These introductory notes, taken form Unit V: Judical Process, are applicable to Unit IV and have been included here to clarify the arrangement of the Unit.]

Unlike most resource units, this unit includes two outlines of content. This is done because so many of the teaching procedures can be used to teach more than one major idea. The first outline of content presents an organized body of content to illustrate the relationship of the content of the unit to the major generalizations. Column III in this section of the resource unit shows the teacher which activities of the unit will help teach this part of the outline of content. Outline #1 is not to be taught in the order presented.

The second outline of content is the one which suggests the order in which content might be taught. It should be noted that this order introduces pupils to problems related to political parties and elections before they study any aspect of the unit in more detail. (See Roman Numeral I). There is then an effort to show pupils that individual efforts can count in the political process. (See Roman Numeral II). Finally, pupils turn to a more detailed analysis of the unit topic. The rest of the material suggests a number of possible reforms, which pupils should analyze in terms of: (a) their effectiveness in achieving the goals perceived for the reforms, and (b) possible problems which these reforms raise (unperceived or latent effects).

To help teachers make the fullest use of each suggested activity, the column after each activity tells the teacher which part of outline number 1 can be taught through this activity. By referring back to this first outline, the teacher should be able to focus the activity more sharply.

Obviously, there are more teaching procedures listed than can be used with any one class. The teacher should select in terms of such factors as: (a) the general ability and interest level of the class, (b) individual differences among class members in terms of ability, interests, and previous background, (c) whether or not the unit is being taught during an election year, (d) the

community in which he is teaching, (e) whether or not the class or most members of the class have been exposed to earlier years of this Project Social Studies Curriculum, and (f) the amount of time available.

The teacher using this unit in the eighth grade in a non-election year should make a brief notation about which activities he used and what students were in the class. This list should be turned over to the 9th grade teacher in the school for use the next year. During that year, pupils will apply what they have learned and expand their knowledge of political parties and elections by studying the current election campaign as part of their current affairs program.

References in the column under Materials of Instruction are to original books and articles rather than to the adaptations prepared by the Project Social Studies staff for experimental purposes. The selections listed were adapted by omitting some of the more difficult words, sentences, and paragraphs and using explanatory material or words in brackets to present the gist of the ideas omitted. Footnotes were used to explain difficult words which were left in teh selections because they were important for pupils to learn. The Curriculum Center obtained permission to make these adaptations for a mimeographed collection of readings to be used in the two-year experimental program. The plan is to work out arrangements with a commercial publisher to print the collection at some future time.

This unit is designed to make progress toward achieving the following objectives:

GENERALIZATIONS

1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

    a. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

    b. Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

    c. Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

    d. Large, complex societies vest the formal policy-making powers of the entire community in a smaller number of decision-makers who act for them. Legislatures attempt to accommodate group conflict.

2. Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

3. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

    a. Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power; and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

    b. Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching on the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.

    c. Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

5. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

6. Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

   a. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

   b. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

      1) The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

      2) Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker.

   c. The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office and his own attitudes.

   d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

      1) The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.

      2) Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

7. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

8. In general, the style of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the persona traits of the leader himself; however, personal factors do make for differences in style.

9. Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have different motives for joining the group, differing rates of participation, differing degrees of loyalty to the group, and different attitudes toward a number of issues.

10. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

11. The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

12. Taking the policy making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages lie with the status quo.

BEHAVIOR RELATED TO ATTITUDES

1. Is sceptical of theories of single causation in the social sciences and is equally sceptical of panaceas.

2. Values intitutions as a means of promoting human welfare, not because of tradition.

3. Feels a sense of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems.

4. Desires to protect the rights of minorities.

5. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data. Searches actively for different points of view and interpretations. Values independent thought.

6. Has a reasoned loyalty to the U.S. and desires to make it an ever better place in which to live.

7. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions.

8. Values objectivity and desires to keep his values from affecting his interpretation of evidence, although recognizing the important role of values in the process of making decisions about problems which demand action.

9. Is curious about social data.

SKILLS

1. Applies previously learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

2. Sets up hypotheses and tests against new data.

3. Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

4. Skims to locate information.

5. Draws inferences from tables.

6. Reads for details (particularly for comparisons).

7. Uses Readers' Guide to locate information.

8. Generalizes from data.

9. Reads for main idea.

10. Interprets charts.

11. Interprets social studies terms.

OBJECTIVES	OUTLINE OF CONTENT (Not in order of teaching.)	TEACHING PROCEDURES
G1 All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	I. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	24 and see below.
G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	A. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	1,4,20,21,103,119, 120,122,126,127, 128,137,141,143, 191
	1. Many issues are raised each year and must be solved peacefully.	1
	2. In the case studies presented in this unit, a number of conflicts were involved.	20,21,103,119,120, 122,128,131,137, 141,143
	a. Those who favored and those who opposed the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964 had different goals and values; both sides attempted to use the authority of the political system to attain their goals.	20,21,103,128,131, 137,141,143
	1) With few exceptions, the southerners were opposed to any kind of civil rights legislation. (Some may have favored the legislation personally but did not dare support it openly for fear of antagonizing voters.)	20,103,128,131, 137

	2) The northern liberals favored strong civil rights legislation.	20, 103, 128, 131, 137
	3) One group of southern leaders, including Speaker Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Johnson, wished to see some legislation passed but not such strong legislation as that proposed by the northern liberals. (See 1960 case study.)	20, 103
	4) Some northern and southwestern conservatives opposed a strong bill because they stood for maintaining states rights against federal encroachment.	20, 103, 128, 131
	b. In the 1961 Rules Committee fight those who favored enlarging the Rules Committee tended to be those who valued social welfare programs, while those who opposed it disliked such programs and wanted to prevent their passage.	119, 120, 122
G1 Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.	B. Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.	20, 39, 43, 48, 53, 64, 84, 97, 119, 122-24, 128, 131, 141-143, 153

	1. A majority of the Republicans joined southern Democrats to defeat many bills in the Rules Committee and other committees and to try to prevent a change in the Rules Committee.	48,53, 64,119 122,124, 131
	2. Some of the Southern Democrats worked with Rayburn to change the Rules Committee in order to avoid breaking the seniority rule which they considered more important.	123,124
	3. Many Republicans joined with northern Democrats to support and vote for Civil Rights legislation in 1960 and in 1964.	20,64, 84,128 142, 153
	4. Southern Democrats joined northern Democrats to vote for certain amendments to the Civil Rights legislation in 1960; however, this move was but a temporary association with the aim on the part of southerners to weaken the bill.	97
Glc Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.	C. Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.	See Below
	1. Government action may create the conditions for the enjoyment of freedom and basically, it may create the conditions of order and stability without which freedom means nothing; it may also curb non-governmental menaces to freedom.	20,21 29,44, 71,72, 128-132, 134,137, 141,143, 144,162, 163

	a. Civil rights legislation was aimed at protecting the rights of Negroes against non-governmental discrimination and against discrimination by local and state governments. It concerned the rights of about 10 percent of the population, but a large proportion of the population supported these rights and thought them important.	20,29 41,44. 103, 128-130 132,137 141,143
	b. Not all members of the political community wish to have their rights curbed in the interests of other people's rights. In the civil rights struggle many southerners did not wish to have their rights to discriminate against Negroes restricted.	20,21 103, 128- 132,134 137
	2. There is frequently honest disagreement about how much the city, state, or federal government should do to maintain order and stability and to curb non-governmental menaces to freedom. There is also disagreement about which level of government should act.	20,128-132,134 137,163
G1d Large, complex societies vest the formal policy-making powers of the entire political community in a smaller number of decision-makers who act for them.	D. Large, complex societies vest the formal, policy-making powers of the entire political community in a smaller number of decision-makers who act for them. Legislatures attempt to accommodate group conflict.	See below

	1. Representative democracies have almost entirely replaced direct democracies, largely for the practical reasons of great numbers and geographic area, and the increased need for experience in policy making.	2
	2. A legislature, is usually accorded the largest role in initiating broad changes or innovations in public policy. It attempts to accommodate group conflict.	3,6
G? Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	II. Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	See below.
	A. There is enough agreement on the value of peaceful settlement of disputes through orderly processes of government and elections so that political conflict in the U.S. does not erupt into violence in the modern age.	24,25,124, 153,159
	1. Despite the violent opposition of the South to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, most southern establishments have abided by its provisions.	153,159
	2. The loss of the Rules Committee dispute did not end in fighting on the floor of Congress, although some violence has taken place in Congress in the past.	124

B.	Political conflict in the legislatures is bound in by rules of conduct.	See below.
1.	Each house of Congress emphasizes courtesy toward opponents and punishes those who insult other congressmen.	112,153 189
2.	The norms of the House are against using the discharge petition even though a majority of the members favor a bill. This was seen in the difficulty in discharging the Rules Committee in the debate over civil rights in 1959-1960.	48,54 67,189
3.	The norms of both houses of Congress are against getting rid of a commitee member just because he has gone against his party during an election or voted against the majority of his party on a major bill. (This is illustrated by the fight to enlarge the Rules Committee when it was enlarged in 1961.)	123, 124, 189
4.	The norms of each house provide for membership of minority party members on committees.	35,122 123,124 189
5.	The norms in both houses are against members of a committee taking action over the head of the committee chairman even though they disagree with him.	48,57 189

6. The norms in both houses of Congress are against freshmen or relatively new members of Congress trying to take away some of the powers of senior members. 112,189

7. The norms of the Congress are against the Speaker or the majority leader calling up bills for unanimous consent without letting the minority leader know about it. 24,122, 189

8. The norms of the House are to provide equal time for debate for those in favor and those opposed to a bill. This was seen in the civil rights debate in 1960. 95,189

9. The norms of the Senate are to let each man talk as long as he wishes to on a bill even though the majority favor it and wish to bring debate to an end. This was seen in the failure of liberals to change the cloture rule more drastically and in the filibuster in 1964 before cloture was imposed. 76,78, 80,153, 189

10. When the two houses of a legislature are controlled by different parties, or when the legislature is controlled by one party and the executive by another, the norms are to compromise on many measures in the interests of obtaining some needed legislation. 98,188

a. There is almost as much legislation passed in Congress when the two houses are controlled by different parties as when they are controlled by the same party. 188

b. Laws are passed even when the legislature and the executive represent different parties. 98

c. Instead of blocking all legislation, each side has to give in some in working out compromises. 98, 188

G3 Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

III. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position. 191 and see below.

G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

A. Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision. 24,35, 43,45 64,84 91,103 141,142 153,157

1. Compromise is essential to any legislation at all when the two houses of a legislature are controlled by different parties.

2. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 was probably weaker than in 1964 because the supporters of a strong bill felt that forces were more evenly divided and a stronger bill would not pass; in 1964 public opinion was so aroused that the supporters of the bill were much stronger and could break the filibuster. 43,45 84,103 141,153 157

		3. The relative equality of parties, with frequent shifts in the control of Congress, probably accounts for some of the norms such as those of committee membership for the minority party.	35
G3b	Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.	B. Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.	54,84, 103,131, 153,157, 159

	1. Compromise was more difficult to achieve on civil rights legislation, on which there was not common agreement upon social institutions, than on many other bills. Even this was possible to achieve because of basic tenets of democracy.	64,84, 103,131 153,157 159
	2. Compromise is easier to achieve in the U.S. today on civil rights than it was in our earlier history.	103,153 159
	3. Compromise is easier to achieve because most Americans accept our basic political institutions of accepting defeat at the polls or in a legislature without fighting back.	103,153 157,159
G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	C. Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	See below.
	1. How much one asks in politics depends upon one's estimate of the other's power, which can only be proved in a test of strength.	43,45,64 84,91,101 103.123,124 135,136,141 142,153,157
	a. In the Rules Committee fight some of the southern conservatives recognized the strength of Rayburn, while he recognized that it would not be easy to defeat the conservative coalition unless he could threaten something they feared more strongly than enlargement of the committee: thus accommodation was possible.	123,124

b.	Rayburn would not accept a token compromise offered by Smith of the Rules Committee because he knew what his own strength was.	123
c.	Because of his strength, Smith would not make a gentlemen's agreement to send all Kennedy bills to the floor of the House.	123
d.	Although both sides in the Rules Committee dispute thought that they knew their own strength, some members of the House wavered, and the issue was in doubt until tested in the final vote.	124
e.	How much Kennedy asked in terms of civil rights legislation depended in part upon what he thought he could get considering the strength of the southern Democrats and his need for their support for some of his other proposals.	135,136, 141,142
f.	How much supporters of civil rights legislation were willing to compromise in the Senate depended upon their estimate of how much chance there would be to get cloture.	64,84, 103,153, 157
g.	How much Celler held out for his bill in 1959 depended upon his estimate of the strength of	43,45 103

southern Democrats on the committee and his estimate of how much Republican support he could get for a compromise measure.

h. The Rules Committee compromised and brought in a special rule for the civil rights legislation in 1960 when it looked as though they might lose out by a very narrow margin on a discharge petition. 97,101, 103

2. Occasional tests of such strength redistribute power and prevent frustration and eventual disruption of society because formal arrangements do not reflect real power. 20,21, 124,128, 137

a. The Rules Committee fight made it possible for the majority of the Democrats to obtain greater control over the committee than they had had in the past. 124

b. The Civil Rights fight was felt to be needed by the Negroes who were frustrated by their lack of voting rights which kept them from exercising the power they felt they deserved because of their numbers. Some have argued that the legislation was needed to prevent greater outbreaks of violence by Negroes. 20,21, 128,137

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.	IV. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.	See below.
	A. The law-making functions (if law is understood to be binding rules of conduct) is undertaken by all three branches of government; all are involved in determining norms of behavior or making policy.	5,29,30,68 70,[illegible],74,103 [illegible],13[illegible],1[illegible] 1[illegible],14[illegible],153 1[illegible]5,[illegible]7,170 1[illegible]7, 191
	1. The executive branch frequently proposes legislation, draws up proposed laws, and tries to bring influence to bear upon enacting these laws.	5,[illegible],68,7[illegible] 74,103,117 122,136, 140-142,146 153,165,167,170
	2. Administrative agencies fromulate specific regulations, under authority granted to them by the legislative branch.	70,72,187
	3. The judicial branch, by its decisions, may apply general constitutional clauses in the making of specific policy (as it did in the School Desegregation Decision in 1954 or in the reapportionment ca es in the 1960's).	30
	B. When legislatures oversee administrative agencies, alter administrative lines of responsibility, and review practices [illegible] administrative agencies, they participate in the administrative and executive process.	175
	C. As government becomes larger, more active, and more complex, legislatures increasingly lose policy initiative to	29,[illegible]8,70 103,117, 136,141,142 146, 167, 169, 191

executives and bureaucracies. Increasingly, Congress considers the President's program and a state legislature considers the governor's program.)

1. The President sends messages to Congress urging the passage of certain legislation; he may also send people to testify. 29,68,70, 103,136, 141,142, 146,147
   a. Congress paid a great deal of attention to the legislative proposals of Eisenhower when considering the Civil Rights Act of 1960. 29,68,70, 103

   b. Congress also paid a great deal of attention to the proposals of President Kennedy and President Johnson when considering the Civil Rights Act of 1964. 90,136,141, 142,146

2. Many administrative agencies draw up bills and get members of Congress to introduce them. 29,68,70, 103,117, 167,169

   a. Attorney General Rogers drew up one of the proposals submitted by a Congressman during the 1960 civil rights debate. 29,68, 70,103

   b. Some drug bills have been drawn up by executive agencies. 117

D. Nevertheless, a power struggle often ensues between the legislature and the executive. 121,122, 146,167, 168,171,172, 174,176,177, 191

1. Congress is very jealous of its perogatives — 171,172

2. The executive does not always like the way in which Congress or a legislature supervises (or interferes with) administrative matters through its control of the budget, its power to investigate how laws are being carried out by administration, and through its right to veto appointments if it wishes to do so. — 171,172

3. Much of the conflict may reflect different constituencies and the different patterns of access each branch grants to outside influences. — 121,122,146, 176,177,183, 191

   a. The presidential constituency in the U.S., as defined in the electoral college, places weight on urban interests. — 146

   b. Governors represent all people in a state, urban and rural; frequently they are elected by a strong urban vote. — 191

   c. Congress and state legislatures come from constituencies in which the bias is in favor of rural groups. — 177,191

   d. Differences in constituencies lead to different points of view on bills. — 146

	e. Chairmen of Congressional committees tend to over-represent rural areas, certain regions, and non-competitive districts; thus these key individuals can block much of the President's program.	121,122,146, 177,179
	1) The struggle over civil rights legislation shows the power of southern Democrats against bills desired by Eisenhower and Kennedy.	179
	2) The Rules Committee struggle was over whether or not one committee could continue to block the President's program.	122
G5 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.	V. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.	See Below
	A. Legislators may make public policy in an opinion vacume and then assume some responsibility for building consent in the public for their actions.	74,104,108, 110,117, 166
	1. Senator Norris had to educate Congress and the public in his long struggle to obtain legislation setting up the Tennessee Valley Authority.	166
	2. Congressmen held hearings which helped educate the public on the proposed referee system which had come from the	74

	administration, not the general public.	
	3. Hearings on the drug industry helped educate the public about problems related to costs and research on drugs.	117
	B. The traditional grass roots model of democracy (bottom to top movement of consent) presumes a higher level of interest and information than studies show are present in democratic publics.	74
	C. Legislators differ in the degree to which they see their role as one making up their own minds (and then trying to persuade their constituencies that they were right) or representing the expressed wishes of their constituencies.	15,104,107
G6 Decision-making is subject to varying influences.	VI. Decision-making is subject to various influences.	4,111 and See below
G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.	A. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.	14-20,24,48,68-70,72 82,88,103,112,122-124,136,147,149,151,153,155,156,165,182,184
	1. The individual legislator, like any citizen, approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.	14-20,24,48,68-70,122-124,136,147,149,151,152,182,184
	a. He may believe that government itself constitutes a threat to personal liberty and that that government is best which governs least; he may believe that the	20,48,68-70,122,124,182,184

reverse is true, or he may hold beliefs anywhere in between these positions. His attitude toward the role of government and of the different levels of government affects his decisions.

1) Some of those fighting the change in the Rules Committee took the first point of view on welfare legislation; those who supported the change favored government action in this area. 122,124

2) Some southerners and other congressmen believe that action by the federal government constitutes a threat to personal liberty, although they would permit state governments more leaway; this was one reason for opposition to the Civil Rights Acts. 20,48,68, 69,122

b. He has acquired values and needs that become demands or interests for him, some of which he may try to achieve within the political system. Legislators are frequently members of interest groups; they are also members of occupational groups and socio-economic classes with their special interests. 16-19, 48,68-70, 122,124, 182,184

1)	Different patterns of political socialization are often the product of different experiences of socio-economic status groups; they are, therefore, related to class and status differences.	16,7, 13,4
2)	There tends in legislatures to be a great correlation between the socio-economic status of the legislator and his voting on socio-economic status issues such as labor legislation.	19
a)	Humphrey represented a socio-economic small business class, and his family was hit hard by the depression of the 1930's; he worked hard to help small businessmen, and he supported welfare legislation.	19
b)	Goldwater came from an upper business class; he tended to vote against labor interests in favor of business interests.	19
c.	Legislators'perceptions of what their role as legislators should be vary greatly; these perceptions affect their decisions.	14,15, 24,68,69, 122,124, 149,153, 182,184

1) Those legislators who believe that they should represent just the constituencies of their districts vote differently than those who believe that they must pay more attention to the interests of the nation as a whole. Similarly, those state legislators who believe that they should vote primarily in the interests of their constituents rather than the state as a whole, vote differently than those state legislators who reverse this role.	15,24,68, 122,124
2) Those who believe that they should vote just as their constituents wish them to, vote differently than those who believe that they must make up their own minds about issues.	14,15,69,122
3) Those who are innovators in policy behave differently than those who believe that it is their duty to pay attention to detail and be parliamentarians. (Northern liberals sometimes took decisions which demanded change, without paying attention to the details necessary to achieve these changes.)	15,122,123
4) Those who believe that their role as legislators is to help work out compromises among different political interests behave differently than those who dislike compromise.	24,68,122, 123,124

a) In the Civil Rights fight of 1959-1960, Johnson favored conciliation in part because it is part of his perception of the role of the legislator and particularly the role of the majority leader.	20,24
b) Rayburn's position in the Rules Committee fight illustrates his conception of the role of the Speaker in obtaining compromises and maintaining the norms of the House as closely as possible.	122,123, 124
2. The process of political socialization is a continuous process; the individual acquires new values and patterns of behavior, and a sharp change in his life may result in resocialization.	112,146, 153,155, 156,189
a. New members of Congress must learn new norms; if they fail to accept them, they are in trouble and are less likely to prove effective in Congress.	112,155, 156,189
b. A Congressman who becomes president may change his patterns of behavior and the attitudes for which he is willing to push hard.	146

	c. A man who moves from a job as a state senator or mayor (where his constituency is narrow) may alter his views when he enters the U.S. Senate where he represents the entire nation.	146,149
	d. Most congressmen learn to value compromise.	149,153,155, 156,189
G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of governments.	B. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.	See below:
	1. Congress feels the influence of the President, supported by patronage, personal prestige, party loyalty.	29,68,103,124, 141,142,146, 153,182,185
	a. Kennedy used his influence in the change of the Rules Committee.	124
	b. Johnson used his prestige and patronage to get votes for cloture in 1964.	146,153
	c. Eisenhower favored one kind of civil rights legislation, and he used his attorney general to lobby for it. His prestige helped win support from many Republican congressmen.	29,68,103
	2. Congressmen feel the influence of other congressmen, particularly the leaders and those with seniority and those who are specialists in the field of the legislation being debated.	20,24,48,54, 65,82,83,86-88,103,112, 114,122-124, 147-149,153, 155,156,182, 189

and those who are specialists in the field of the legislation being debated.

a. Congressmen have little time to study the ins and outs of all bills; they tend to learn to take the advice of someone they respect as an expert on the committee which reported the bill out. 105

b. Congressmen who fail to get along with their leaders are likely to find sanctions imposed against them. 20,24,48, 54,65,82, 83,86,87, 88,112,114, 122-124,189

1) Some Republicans who approved Rayburn's move in the Rules Committee fight, failed to support him for fear of poor committee assignments from their leaders. 124

2) Many congressmen hesitated to sign the discharge petition in 1959 for fear of sanctions against them; when Rayburn indicated at least tacit approval, more of them signed. 48,54,65, 86-88

3) At one time, Senators who tried to charge the cloture rule found that new committee requests were denied them. 83

4) Congressmen who fail to get along with chairmen of their committees fail to be named 48,54,65, 86,87

chairman of any sub-committee.

5) When Humphrey first went to the Senate, he clashed with Byrd, a Democratic leader; most of the Senators walked out on him during his speech answering Byrd and Byrd's supporters. For a time many senators would have nothing to do with him. 114

c. Congressional leaders frequently have great influence because of their popularity and personal prestige. 20,24, 48,103, 122, 124,153, 155,156

1) Rayburn's popularity undoubtedly helped him win the Rules Committee fight in 1961. 122,124

2) Rayburn persuaded many to vote for the Civil Rights Act of 1960 in order to help his protegee Johnson. 103

3) Dirkson's influence won over many congressmen for the Civil Rights Acts of both 1960 and 1964. 103,153

4) Humphrey's popularity in 1964 helped win the needed votes for cloture. 153,155, 156

C. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from people outside of government.	15,22,27,37, 38,48,62,68, 70,72,73,82, 89,90,103,104, 107,109,110, 116-118,124, 127,128,132, 133,137,138, 141-143,153, 161,182
1. Legislators now vote in recognition of their constituencies more than ever before.	48,68,72,73, 89,90,124, 128,137,141, 142,161,182
a. The major reason in American legislatures for the failure of members to adhere to party majorities is the conflicting demand of a sensitive or competitive constituency.	182
b. Modern communications and mass democracy now mean that legislators operate with much less freedom and independence of their constituencies than they once did.	72,73,89,90, 124,128,137, 142
1) Great amounts of publicity attended the civil rights struggle; hence the legislators had much less freedom to operate on their own.	73,89,90, 128,137,142
2) The technical fight over the size of the Rules Com-	124

mittee became a nationally-observed affair; the public announcement of names of those who had signed the discharge petition added much pressure to those who had not signed.

2. A legislator is more likely to pay attention to organized interest groups within his district than to individual citizens, unless the latter are among his chief supporters (financially or in campaigning.). 6,37,38, 60,62,68, 72,73, 116-118, 124,127, 137,143,153, 182

G6b1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

a. The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made. 6,38,60, 62,116-118,124, 127,153

1) Members testify before congressional committees; they provide data and arguments in favor of certain provisions or against certain bills. 38,62,117, 124

a) Groups representing Negroes were very active in testifying before committees dealing with civil rights legislation. 38,62,116.

b) Pressure groups were mobilized on both sides of the Rules Committee fight and tried to persuade individual congressmen to 124

vote in certain ways.

2) They try to influence individual congressmen by a barrage of letters, by pamphlets with information about the bill, and by personal contacts. — 116,117, 24,153

3) Interest groups sometimes prepare bills and get congressmen to introduce them. — 116

G6b2 Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker.

b. Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker. — 37,68,72, 73,116-118,142, 143

1) Interest groups with large enough numbers of mobilized voters prefer to try to influence decision-making by selecting the decision-maker. — 37,68,142

a) Northern congressmen from big city areas frequently had to contend with a large Negro vote; they were thus more likely to favor civil rights legislation, especially on roll call votes. — 27,37,68 142,143

b) The spur to pass civil rights legislation in 1960 and again in 1964 came in part because of the desire — 27,68,72, 73,142

to win votes from the large numbers of Negro voters in key districts during a presidential election year.

c) Republicans added their names to the discharge petition in the 1959-1960 civil rights fight because they could not afford to be publicized as opposing it in their districts with large groups of Negroes. 86,87

2) Generally, interest groups find it easier to work on decision-makers after they have been chosen; their opportunity to participate in the selection may be sharply limited by the power of the political parties. 116,117

a) They know that congressmen have many different groups as constituents, and they wish to make their group vocal so that the congressmen will think it highly important in his district. 116,117

b) The interest group serves an important role in activating and socializing its members into political activity; it is this ability to mobilize support for or a- 116,117

gainst issues and congressmen that make congressmen pay attention to demands of interest groups.

3. In the legislatures of the democracies, divisions and voting splits are most apt to develop along party lines. 182,189

   a. Party affiliation, better than any other factor, explains the voting behavior of American legislators.. 182

   b. There are a number of reasons for the importance of party voting. 182

      1) Party choices reflect different political values and perceptions which are then reflected in their decisions. 182

      2) Congressmen and legislators need party financial and organizational help in the next campaign. 182,189

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office, and his own attitudes.

D. Legislators frequently experience role conflict. 24,48,68,82, 90,104,105,107,123,124, 141-2, 153,161

1. One of the major causes of factionalism within the legislative party is the involvement of some of its members in other groups and organizations with competing goals and values. 28 68,90,123, 124

   a. Rayburn had the promise of some outherners to vote with him if he needed their votes in the Rules Committee fight, but they would

otherwise vote along with southern opinion against the change. These congressmen were torn between their role as southerners representing southern constituencies and their role as members of a party with the need to pass legislation and to support party leaders, and their personal loyalty to Rayburn.

b. Some southerners have undoubtedly experienced role conflict in their stand on Civil Rights legislation; whether they personally like such legislation or not, they feel that they must fight it because of the desires of their constituencies. This need may also conflict with their role, as they perceive it, as lawmakers for the nation as a whole. 28,68,90, 153

2. Members of groups to which a congressman feels loyal influence his behavior by setting up and enforcing norms for proper behavior of their members. 48,68,112, 161

a. The members of every group direct expectations (organized into roles) toward other members; they apply both positive and negative sanctions to get members to behave in certain ways. 48,68,112

1) A congressman who votes against the desires of a group to which he has strong ties may find himself in disgrace or ostracized; this fear of social reprisal may be as important for some as fear of loss of the next election.	48,68,161
2) Congress itself is a group whose members influence the behavior of members; those who do not follow the norms may suffer social ostracism as well as forms of retaliation which make them less effective as congressmen.	48,68,112
b. When an individual is strongly attached to a group and maintains close contact with it, he is unlikely to give up the beliefs which he has learned from this group.	161
3. Sometimes people are expected to behave in one way by one group and another way by another group; when they face such role conflicts, they tend to behave as expected by the group to which they feel the greatest emotional ties. Congressmen have a number of roles which may conflict.	48,68,82,90, 105,107,124, 141,142,153, 161
a. As a member of Congress he should abide by group norms which may prevent him from pushing legislation as strenuously as he would as a representative of other groups outside of Congress.	48,68,82, 90

as representatives of other groups outside of Congress.

b) As a member of Congress his role is to consider the good of the country as a whole; this role may conflict with his role as a representative of his district or region or his role as a member of some interest group. 15,153

c) As a member of a national party, his role is to support his party's program; this role may conflict with his role as a member of a certain region or district. 15,68, 90,141, 142,153

d) As a member of a particular reference group, a congressman may have deep-seated values which conflict with his role in representing his constituency. 15

e) Most congressmen develop certain ideas about their primary role in Congress; these perceptions help them rationalize their decisions. 15

f) As a friend of a congressional leader, a congressman may wish to support that leader in a vote; however, his role in relation to voters may make him want to vote against the leader. (This happened in the fight to change the Rules Committee.) 124

G6d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	E. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	See below.
	1. They affect what decisions different groups can make.	11,29,46,48,73 98,103,119,120 123,128,131 134,153,168 173,185
	a. The constitutional grant of powers affects what Congress or state legislatures can legislature about.	131
	b. The state legislatures determine what city and county governments can legislate about.	8
	c. The constitution gives both the Senate and the House the rights to make certain kinds of decisions which the other branch cannot make.	9
G6d1 The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.	d. The separation of powers (particularly between the President and congress) is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.	29,98 168, 173
	1) The threat of a presidential veto or the use of the President's power of patronage helps block some bills and helps pass others.	29,98,185
	2) The President's right to handle foreign relations is sometimes stymied by the Senate's right to ratify treaties and the House's right to initiate appropriation bills.	173

G6d2. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.	e. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.	11,29,73,128, 131,141,153
	1) State regulation of voting requirements makes it difficult to provide equal voting rights for all.	29,73,128, 131
	2) State regulation of education has made it difficult to achieve school integration.	29,73,128, 131
	3) The federal government can protect Negro rights in restaurants, on different types of transportation, and in hotels, etc. only through its power over interstate commerce. This has made it difficult for Congress to protect Negro rights and some parts of the 1964 Civil Rights Act may still be held inapplicable for public accommodations not catering to large groups of people from different states.	141,153
	4) Those believing very strongly in states rights tended to oppose the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964.	73,128, 131
	5) Under a federal system of government it has been more difficult to apprehend criminals who flee after bombing houses and churches in the civil rights struggle.	29,128, 131

2. They set the procedures of decision-making.	7,46-49,59, 63,65,76,78, 85,90,95, 103,119-121, 124,147,152, 153,184
a. The Constitution provides a general structure for the process which must be followed in passing laws.	7,8,
b. The division of Congress into two branches frequently causes delays.	47
c. The rules of each house have great effects upon the passing of bills; in general they tend to slow down legislation or to make passage more difficult rather than to expedite legislation.	46-48,59,63, 65,76,78,85, 90,95,119-121,147,152, 153,184
1) Rules on Calendar Wednesday make it very difficult to by-pass the Rules Committee by this means.	119,120
2) Rules on cloture make it very difficult to end filibusters.	76,78,152, 153
3) The powers granted by the House to the Rules Committee make it difficult to pass legislation which the majority may wish.	48,65,119, 120
4) Rules about riders affect legislation.	57,76,78, 95
5) The powers granted by both houses to the Committee chairmen make it more difficult to pass legislation desired by the majority.	46,63,65, 152

6) Rules on quorums and the reading of the Journal make it more difficult to expedite business. 82,85,152

7) The lack of a Senate rule on germaneness for all debate makes it more difficult to expedite business. 63,76,78

8) Rules for the Committee of the Whole, on the other hand, expedite business. 90,95

3. They set the boundaries and dimensions of the political playing field and fix the rules of the game played in it. (Each house develops norms for behavior which are not part of the formal rules. These norms have great influence upon decision-making.) 24,25 35,36 48,54,65, 103,123, 124,147, 153,156, 182,184

4. They limit access to decision-makers. 65

5. Every legislature is directly a product of the electoral and constituency system which produces it; changes in these systems will bring changes in the composition and loyalties of the members. 52,103, 121,177, 178

a. Congress overrepresents rural groups because of the system of districting and so of constituencies; this overrepresentation affects the passage of much legislation. The same is true of state legislatures. 52,121

b. After U. S. senators were elected by the people rather than by state legislatures, the U. S. Senate became the more liberal of the two branches of Congress and the chamber most likely to reflect changes in public opinion.	178
1) Senators must represent the wishes of all people in their states, urban as well as rural.	178
2) Representatives need only represent the interests of their districts; even in urbanized states, many of them come from rural districts.	178
6. They affect power relationships.	31-34,46, 48,63,65, 93,103,121, 124,176, 177,179, 180

	7. The relative centralization or decentralization of power within political parties reflects in great part the centralization or decentralization of authority within the political system as a whole.	103,121,177, 179-181,183
	a. The congressional wing of a party differs from the presidential wing in part because there is not as much need as in parliamentary systems for legislative majorities to support a cabinet and government.	183
	b. The decentralization of power within a party in congress is partly due to the division of power between the two houses, to the spreading of power among committees, and to the seniority system which takes control of chairmen out of the hands of the majority party in each branch.	121,177,179-181, 183
G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	VII. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	191 and See below.
	A. All members of a legislative body do not have equal power, though they have the same legal status in the Constitution and each has one vote.	20,24,25,36,41, 42,48,50-52,63, 65,66,75-77,85-88,93,94,103, 112,113,119-124,149,150, 153,155,156, 176,186

1. Any organized group delegates responsibilities and rights; it assigns certain role behaviors; this division of labor creates hierarchial authority relationships.	20,24,25,42, 48,50-52,57, 63,65,66,75, 88,94,103,119, 120-122,124, 149,150,153, 176
a. Party caucuses select majority and minority leaders and even the Speaker in the House; these men have tremendous power. So do the elected party whips.	20,24,25,75, 88,122,124, 149,150,153
b. Chairmen of committees, who achieve their position by seniority, are elected only technically; they frequently do not represent the views of the majority of their party in Congress or of the President when he is the leader of their party. They have considerable power within their committees.	33,42,48,50-52,57,63,65, 66,94,103, 119,120,122, 176
1) Chairman Smith of the Rules Committee had power of almost life or death over many bills; he did not represent the views of the majority of his party in Congress.	48,50,52,119, 120,122

2) Senator Eastland of the Judiciary Committee also had great powers to kill bills; he did not belong to the majority wing of his party. 63

c. Membership and chairmanships of some of the more powerful committees give men influence and power greater than that of members and chairmen of less influential committees. 48,50,65, 121,122,176

1) Any member of the Rules Committee is powerful because of the importance of one vote on that committee. 48,50,121

2) Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee have power other than that related to bills before their committee because they serve as the committee to nominate Democratic members to other committees. 176

2. An individual may have power at one point in the political system but not at another. 41,48,86, 93,112, 186

a. Chairmen of committees have power only when the bill is before their committees, unless they are also highly influential with other members, or unless they chair the Rules Committee or the Appropriations Committee. 41,48,93

1) Celler had little influence over civil rights legislation outside of his committee. 86,93

2) Smith could affect legislation in other committees by threatening to keep bills bottled up in the Rules Committee; he could also, with the support of enough of his committee members, take a bill away from another committee (as he did with proposals on reapportionment during September, 1964). 48,93

3) The chairmen of most committees, however, have little but personal prestige and influence to affect other legislation. 41,93

b. Congressmen who specialize are frequently highly influential with other congressmen on bills related to their specialty but not on other bills. 112

c. Senators have power over presidential appointments to federal jobs within their states if the President is of their party; they have little influence over appointments to jobs in other states. 186

3. Norms differ in the degree to which they are expected of all.	36,67,76, 77,85-87, 112,113, 123,153, 155,156, 189
a. U.S. Senators (and members of the House to about the same degree) generally follow the following norms; if they do not, they are punished by sanctions from other members of their branch of Congress.	21,36,67, 85,86,112, 153,155, 156,189

1)	They are expected to perform an unobtrusive apprenticeship. (Consequently, the new member of Congress has much less power than a long-time member, even though legally he has the same power.)	112,189
2)	They are expected to refrain from talking much; they are expected to be doers rather than talkers. (Even men with great knowledge have lost influence by speaking too much.)	112,189
3)	They are expected to specalize. (Even those with great knowledge in a number of fields are considered doubtful by many if they do not specialize enough.)	112,189
4)	They are expected to be courteous to each other. (The bright Congressman who makes personal attacks on others may lose his influence over other Congressmen.)	112,153, 155,156, 189
5)	They are expected to reciprocate favors to each other. (If they do not, they lose their power to get votes for things they want.)	36,85,112, 189
6)	They are supposed to be patriotic to the institution of their branch of Congress. (This means they are expected to follow the normal procedures and the norms; i.e., not to vote for discharge petitions or cloture.)	112,189

b. Behavior that is not permissible to most members is permissible for leaders or is permissible to other members if sanctioned by leaders. 67,76,77, 86,87,123, 153,155, 156

1) It is permissible to sign a discharge petition or to vote for cloture or a change in cloture rule if these moves are sanctioned by the leaders. 86,87, 153

a) Rayburn gave his consent to signatures to the discharge petition in the civil rights struggle of 1960. 86,87

b) Johnson led a move to discharge the cloture rule to some degree. 76,84

c) Both the majority and the minority leader in the Senate pushed for cloture in 1964. 153,155, 156

2) It is permissible to attempt to get rid of a committee member despite his seniority or to change the size of a committee if the leaders give their consent. It is also permissible for leaders to institute such moves. (e.g. Rayburn pushed changes in the Rules Committee.) 123

3) It is permissible for leaders to make some moves to bypass committees when members would not let others do so. 65,67, 76,77

a) Johnson and Dirksen used a rider to get the life of the Civil Rights Commission extended without going through the Judiciary Committee. 65,67

b) Johnson and Dirksen used an unusual procedure to get civil rights legislation to the floor and to bypass Eastland's Judiciary Committee in 1960. 76,77

B. Individual citizens are not equally represented in Congress or in state legislatures or on important legislative committees because of the way in which districts are drawn and methods of choosing committee chairmen. 48,52,65, 121.177. 179

1. Congress and the Rules Committee overrepresent rural areas as against urban and suburban areas; the same is true of state legislatures. 121

2. Chairmen of Congressional committees and members of the Rules Committee overrepresent the South when the Democrats are in power, the Midwest when Republicans are in power, and rural areas in both cases; they also overrepresent safe districts where political conflict is at a low level. 48,52,65, 121,177,179

C. Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers; groups differ in the degree of access they have to congressmen. 16,18,65

1. Those from similar occupational backgrounds (e.g. lawyers, farmers) have more chance to get the ear of a con- 16,18

		gressman or legislator than do those of other types of occupational groups.	
		2. Because of the overemphasis upon southern chairmanships under Democrats, Negro groups have less chance to affect committees than do representatives of other southern interests.	65
		D. Voting restrictions may reduce the power of some groups of citizens.	20,21,72, 128,129, 137,141, 143,144
G8	In general, the style of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.	VIII. In general, the style of the leader (in the legislature or the executive-party leader) is determined more by the expectations of the membership of the group of which he is leader and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.	See below:
		A. Congressmen learn that they must accept the norms of the Congress and must compromise if they are to develop influence and leadership in Congress. (Senator Humphrey got off to a bad start because of his strong stand on civil rights in the 1948 Democratic convention, because of frequent speeches, and because of his challenge of Senator Byrd; when Humphrey adopted the norms of the Senate and learned to compromise, he became the party whip.)	114,146,153, 155

B. Congressmen who become President may take very different positions on issues and operate differently because of the different expectations of their new constituencies. (Johnson reacted very differently to Civil Rights legislation as President than he did as Majority leader; as President his constituency was the entire nation; as Majority Leader his constituency was a southern state..	136,141,146
C. The President is forced to consider his chance of getting legislation passed and is sometimes forced to push less hard for certain legislation than his values would make him desire. (Kennedy could not send a strong civil rights bill to Congress early in his administration, because he needed Southern support for other legislation he considered more crucial.)	72,135,136, 141,142
D. Although leaders must pay attention to the expectations of members of groups, their personality and perceptions do make for differences in style.	124,141,146, 149,153,165

1. Some presidents use more means at their command to try to influence legislation; they believe in being strong presidents. 124,141, 146,153, 165

   a. Kennedy used all of his influence to secure changes in the Rules Committee. 124,135

   b. Johnson used all of his influence to get the Civil Rights Act approved in 1964. 141,146, 153,165

2. Some presidents believe that they should interfere little in congressional matters; Eisenhower did not put all of his influence to work to secure civil rights legislation. 165

3. Johnson and Mansfield were very different types of majority leaders in the Senate; however, one was leader when a Republican was President and one the leader when his party controlled both houses of Congress as well as the Presidency. 149

GS Not all members of any group are exactly alike. They have different motives for joining the group, differing rates of participation, differing degrees of loyalty to the group, and differing attitudes toward a number of issues.

IX. Not all members of any group are exactly alike. See Below

A. Members of a political organization are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization. 182

   1. In political parties reasons may extend to such things as job patronage; consequently, patronage is important to legislators if they are to keep the support of party members. 182

2. Many northerners and southerners join the Democratic Party for very different reasons.

B. There is usually a split in a party among various factions. 20,48 53,120. 141.172

1. There is frequently a presidential and congressional faction. 179

2. There is a split in the Democratic party between southerners and northerners on the goals which they wish. 20,48, 53,120 141

3. There is a split between the so-called eastern liberal wing and the western-middle western conservative wing in the Republican party. 141

C. Members of a political party in Congress have varying degrees of loyalty to the party. 121, 122, 177

1. They do not all support their presidential candidates in elections. 122

2. They have varying levels of agreement with the majority of their party on roll-call votes; committee chairmen frequently vote against their party more than other members do. 121, 177

G10 Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	X. Constitutions change by formal Amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	30 and see below.
	A. There have been great changes in interpreting the powers granted to Congress; these changes have come about primarily through implied powers. The changes have resulted in a change in state-federal relationships.	11,12
	B. There have been great changes in the role of the President in initiating legislative policies and in using assistants to lobby with congressmen.	
	C. The House was intended to be the branch of Congress most responsive to changes in public opinion; it is now less so than the Senate. This is due in part to a constitutional amendment on how senators are elected and in part to the custom which has grown up of having House members represent constituencies within districts rather than whole states.	178
	D. The Constitution gives the President the right to appoint many officials, but this right has been modified by the custom of senatorial courtesy.	185,186
	E. The Supreme Court has changed its interpretation of the due process clause.	30,60
	F. The Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution so as to force states to redraw district lines to make districts more equal in population.	48,52

G11	The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	XI. The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	See below:
		A. Voters influence legislative decisions, because they can turn legislators out of office.	20,37,73,102 104,128,137 143,145,153, 160
		B. Legislatures can affect voting qualifications.	20,102,128, 137,153,160
		C. Legislatures also affect voters by the policy decisions they make about other matters.	20,72,102,104, 137,153,160
		D. Interest groups and political parties affect legislative decisions and are in turn affected by laws passed by legislatures.	22,28,73,102, 124,143,153, 160
		E. Each branch of the government affects the other branches.	102,124,135, 136,146,153, 160,173,185, 186
		F. Federal decisions affect state political institutions.	30,102,128, 134,153,160
G12	Taking the policymaking process as a whole, the general strategic advantage lies with the status quo.	XII. Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantage always lies with the status quo.	See below:
		A. Political institutions that diffuse decision-making tend to make changes difficult and to protect the status quo.	29,98,99,1[illegible], 128,129,137 139,173
		1. Federalism tends to make it difficult to bring changes in some areas of social life.	128,129,137. 139

2. The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay.	29,98,120, 168,173
a. The President may veto acts passed by Congress; the governor may veto acts passed by the state legislature.	98
b. Congress may refuse to pass acts desired by the President or to ratify treaties made by the President.	173
3. The division of a legislative body into two houses, each with a slightly different electoral constituency, tends to delay or block change.	99,120
B. Many of the rules of Congress or of state legislatures tend to slow down or block action.	56,63,76,78, 80,82,119, 120,121,153, 189
1. The power given to the Rules Committee may block action desired by a majority of the House members.	56,119,120
2. The right of filibuster blocks or badly delays action and results in compromises wanted by a minority of the Senate.	63,76,78,80, 82,153,189

OBJECTIVES	OUTLINE OF CONTENT #2 (in order of teaching)
GI All societies have potential conflict among their members, and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	I. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.
Gla In political conflict, conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	A. In political conflict, conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.
	B. A legislature attempts to accommodate group conflict. It is usually given the largest role in initiating broad changes or innovations in public policy.
Gld Large, complex societies vest the formal policy-making powers of the entire political community in a smaller number of decision-makers who act for them.	
Gla in political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	

TEACHING PROCEDURES	OUTLINE OF CONTENT #1	MATERIALS
1. Put up a bulletin board which features current news articles and pictures on Congress, the State legislature, or the city or town legislative body. If some of articles feature conflict over what legislation should be passed, have pupils analyze conflict issues. Then have them watch for ways in which the conflict is settled.	IA	
2. Review what pupils decided during the Overview about the reasons for representative democracy rather than direct democracy. (See overview activity #66.) Suggest that pupils try to decide during this unit whether they still agree with their earlier conclusions.	I D1	
3. Review what students know about the general job of a legislature as a policy making and changing body. Discuss the need for such a body. What would happen if there were no such body? Would courts be enough to solve disputes?	I D2	
4. Have pupils begin to keep a scrapbook on the legislative process. They should divide the scrapbook into sections, one dealing with Congress, one with the state legislature (if it is in session), one dealing with the town or city legislative body, and one dealing with the county commission. They should place each article on one side of a page, leaving room for analysis on the other side. Have pupils analyze all of the articles in different wyas, as they learn something about each kind of analysis during the unit. For example, at the beginning of the unit, they can write "Conflict issue" and indicate the different	IA VI	

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6c1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

points of view on the issue and who is on each side. Later in the unit they can write a paragraph analyzing the ways in which this article shows the influence of structure or interest groups or of internalized values of legislators, or of executive branch etc. on decision making. They might go back through their clippins at another point and analyze any in which federal-state relations or state-local relations are involved. The teacher should be able to think of many other kinds of analysis which might be made, depending upon the kinds of news items which pupils are able to collect during the course of the unit.

Instead of having all pupils make scrapbooks on all legislative levels, you might divide the class into committees. Each could prepare a classroom scrapbook for each level. In this case, the committees should be responsible for telling the class about some of the articles and what they illustrate at appropriate points in the unit.

5. If this unit is introduced just at the opening of Congress in January or when the state legislature meets, you may wish to play a tape recording of the President's annual message to Congress or of the Governor's message to the state legislature. Or you may wish to ask pupils to watch a television replay of such a speech.	IV A1	
6. Show pupils the film <u>The Legislative Process</u>. This film deals with the way in <u>which a bill</u> moved from an interest group through state legislature. (Do not focus upon all of the details in the passage of the bill. Rather use the film as an overview of the general procedure for passing a law. In other words ignore the details such as the reading of bills.)	I D2 VI C2a	Film: <u>The Legislative Process</u>, $1\frac{1}{2}$ reels, Indiana University. Avaliable through AFL-CIO.
7. Have pupils examine a wall chart on Congress Passes A Bill. Start with just a generalized version of such a	VI E2	Wall chart: Congress Passes a Bill.

S. Sets up hypotheses.	
G6d2 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary sys-	11. Some laws are passed by the federal government, some by state governments, and some by local governments. The

chart. Then place a large sheet of acetate over the chart and draw in some additional refinements. Leave the chart on the bulletin board during the course of the unit, with another piece of acetate over it upon which pupils can draw with China marking pencils.		Large sheets of acetate China marking pencils.
8. Discuss with pupils any differences between this chart and the process of passing a bill in a state legislature. Prepare charts showing the general procedures for passing state laws and local ordinances. Read aloud the state constitutional provision which relates to the delegation of policy-making powers to the cities by the state.		Wall chart: Our State Legislature Passes a Law Wall chart: Our City Council Passes An Ordinance.
9. Have pupils read the general constitutional provisions on passing laws. Tell the pupils that during the unit they will find out a number of things which are important in the legislative process which are not mentioned in the Constitution. Also point out that the Constitution gives each house certain powers not granted to the other house. How might this delegation of powers affect the relative power of each house? (Let pupils set up hypotheses.)	VI E2a	A classroom set of copies of the Constitution of the U.S.
0. Give pupils an overview of the unit. Hand out a suggested list of activities for individuals and small groups. Let pupils indicate their first, second, and third choices on a piece of paper and turn in the paper. Make the assignments the following day, giving pupils their first choice when possible. However, if pupils have chosen something demanding a higher level of reading ability then they have or if too many have chosen the same activity, give pupils one of their other choices.		

Developmental Activities

11. Have each pupil make a list of laws [illegible] would like to see passed. Then have him indicat[illegible] each la[illegible]	VI E[illegible] X A	A classroom set of Constitutions of the U.S.

	te[illegible] to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.		Constitution has been interpreted to give Congress more and more power over kinds of legislation orginally left to the states.
G6a	Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the people making the decision.	III.	The legislator is frequently faced by demands which may be in conflict with each other and with his own ideas of how a legislator should behave. His role-perceptions affect his decisions.

which legislative body he thinks he would have to go to to get each proposal considered. Now have pupils look at the section in the federal constitution on the powers given to Congress. Discuss some of the pupils' lists of laws which they would like to see passed, letting the class try to decide which legislative body might handle each bill. If pupils have indicated that they would have to go to the state legislature about some proposal which would be handled by Congress today, ask pupils to find some statement in the Constitution which might give Congress this power. Then point out the elastic clause and the interstate commerce clause. Explain, with examples, how Congress has used these clauses to pass laws on topics not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.		
12. Now take one of the laws which a pupil has proposed. Suggest that pupils assume the roles of interest group members trying to get this legislation passed. Ask for a volunteer to come up and use a china marking pencil to show on the acetate over the appropriate chart, how this bill might be introduced and finally passed. (Ask for only a rough outline of this procedure now.) Do the same with several other laws suggested by pupils.		Wall charts on passing bills, large sheet of acetate, and China marking pencils.
13. If this film was not shown during the overview, show the film <u>Centralization and Decentralization</u> and discuss reasons for some of the changes in the powers of local, state, and national governments. If the film was shown earlier, remind pupils of it and review the idea of the shift of powers.	XA	Film: <u>Centralization vs. Decentralization</u>, 2 reels, E.B.F.
14. Show the film <u>Majority Vote</u>. Have pupils discuss the question of whether their representative on a student council should vote as she thinks best or as their group has indicated they want her to vote. Shift the discussion to a similar question on the role of a congressman or state legislator. Discuss the difficulty of krowing what the majority of one's constituents think and of deciding which	VI Alc	Film: <u>Majority Vote</u>, 1 reel, McGraw-Hill.

S <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.</u>

S <u>Sets up hypotheses.</u>

G5 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G6b The represnetative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

A, Legislator's perceptions of what their role as legislators should be vary greatly; these perceptions affect their decisions.

1. Those legislators who believe that they should represent just the constituents in their districts vote differently than those who believe that they must pay more attention to the interests of the state or nation as a whole.

2. Those who believe that they should vote just as their constituents wish them to, vote differently than those who believe that they must make up their own minds about issues.

3. Those who are innovators in policy behave differently than those who believe that it is their duty to pay attention to detail and be parliamentarians.

4. Those who believe that they should vote as desired by their party's leaders or a party caucus may vote differently than those who place other influences higher in the scale of importance.

constituents the legislator wishes to represent. If new evidence comes to light, should the legislator (or student council member) vote as he thinks people wanted him to vote earlier or should he use his own judgment? Do students elect council members because they think them good leaders? Is a good leader a follower of public opinion? etc.

15. Have pupils read the exercise on "Role Perceptions of State Legislators." You will probably wish to have them work on one section at a time, interspersing reading with discussion. (See Guide for Teachers in Appendix for more detailed suggestions on use of this exercise.) In general, the discussion should focus on the following questions: (1) Which role do pupils prefer and why? (What are the arguments for and against each role position?) (2) Can pupils think of any other possible position which legislators might take? Why? (Set up hypotheses to check later in unit. Pupils may suggest that a legislator might assume a role based upon influence of his party's position or of the majority of his party in the legislature.) (3) Which role perceptions are most popular with state legislators? (4) How can pupils explain the differences among replies of legislators in different states? (5) Do pupils think the stated perceptions would necessarily represent the real views of legislators? Why or why not? (6) What effect would different role perceptions have upon decision-making in the legislature? As you discuss the role perceptions related to independent voting or voting as the constituents wish, you may wish to show pupils the table from the Miller and Stokes study which shows the correlations between constituency attitude toward certain broad policy areas and the congressman's perceptions of these attitudes. Then discuss: Do you think this data indicates that Congressmen should ignore the wishes of their constituents? Why or why not? Review the concept of role-conflict at this time. Also ask pupils to look for role perceptions and role-conflict as they read case studies in this unit.

V C
VI A1c;
C

"Role Perceptions of State Legislators."
"Guide for Teachers - No. 1 (in appendix to resource unit.)

Miller and Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," in Woll, ed. American Government, Readings and Cases, p. 425.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

G7 Political power is distrubuted unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

S <u>Draws inferences from tables.</u>

S <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.</u>

B. Legislator's values and goals and role perceptions have been developed over many years in their experiences with their families and other groups which have been important in their lives.

1. Different patterns of political socialization are often the product of different experiences of socio-economic status groups; they are, therefore, related to class and status differences.

2. There tends in legislatures to be a great correlation between the socio-economic status of the legislator and his voting on socio-economic status issues such as labor legislation.

S <u>Uses Who's Who, Current Biography.</u>

S <u>Uses Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.</u>

16. Have pupils study the paper on the background of legislators and discuss the possible influence of this background on how legislators might vote (or make decisions). Have pupils set up hypotheses about possible influences upon decision-making. (Try to get pupils to hypothesize about the influence of a legislator's own background upon his attitudes and upon decision-making, and about differences in access to legislators.) Remember that if pupils have studied the Project's seventh grade course, they should be able to apply generalizations from that course in setting up hypotheses about the relationship of past experiences to decision-making by drawing upon what they learned about socialization and groups most likely to affect attitudes.	VI Alb VII C	"Characteristics of Senators"
17. Have a student study the tables on political socialzation of legislators in four states, found in Wahlke, et al. Have him report to the class on the most important influences in the development of these legislators' interest in politics, as perceived by these legislators. Discuss: Does this data support or contradict your hypotheses about the influence of a legislator's background?	VI Alb	Whalke, et al., <u>The Legislative System</u>, pp. 81, 83, 85.
18. Have students examine tables on the chief occupations of state legislators in 13 states. They should decide how these occupational backgrounds might affect: 1) the peoplé who would have greatest access to them (in terms of influence) and 2) how the legislators might personally feel about issues.	VI Alb VII Cl	Wahlke, et al., <u>The Legislative System</u>, pp. 255, 256, 257.
19. Have different groups of pupils investigate and report upon the socio-economic class in which certain political leaders or congressmen grew up, in which they now find themselves or found themselves at the time of civil rights legislation. (e.g. You might include leaders such as President Johnson at the time he was Majority Leader,	VI Alb	

S <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations to new data.</u>

S <u>Generalizes from data.</u>

GI All societies have potential conflict and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

GIa In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

GIb Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic inter-

IV. The fight to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1960 illustrates all of the generalizations in the unit.

A. A number of factors brought about a new push for Civil rights legislation in 1959.

1. A series of events showed that the 1957 Act was not sufficient to protect Negro rights. These events aroused public opinion in the North.

Humphrey when he was in the Senate, former Senator Goldwater, Dirkson, etc.). Before pupils begin work, review types of references which might be used (<u>Who's Who</u>, <u>Current Biography</u>, and <u>Readers' Guide</u>.) Then give pupils a chart showing the votes of these men on specific socio-economic legislation. Pupils should try to decide whether there is any relationship between the votes of these men and their original socio-economic class. Is this relationship closer or less close than that between their votes and the socio-economic class at the time of the votes? Use this data to help pupils test their earlier hypotheses.

20. Now tell pupils that they are going to read about how one law was passed. Have them read part I of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." Assign papers in terms of reading ability. (Form A is for better readers, Form C for poor readers, and Form B for average readers.) Before pupils begin reading, remind them that they should try to answer the questions in caps before continuing the reading. Also review the use of dots within quotations to indicate omitted words and the use of brackets to indicate words which have been inserted to help explain the meaning of a quotation.	I A2; B3; C1, 2 III C2b VI A1; B2 VII A1a IX B2 XI A	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960" Forms A, B, C.

ests of the participants are at stake.

G9 Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have different attitudes toward a number of issues.

G1c Government action may both protect individual rights and restrict them.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

G11 The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components. (e.g. Voters affect legislators.)

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democcracy.

21. If pupils have not studied the seventh grade Project Social Studies course, you may wish to have several pupils prepare illustrated reports on some of the incidents de- | I A; C1b | Opaque Projector

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to people outside of government. S Draws inferences from tables S Interprets social studies terms.	2. The movement of Negroes into northern cities brought pressure to bear upon a number of urban congressmen in the North.
G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy. G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to people outside of government. G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions. G1 All societies have potential conflict and must work out some means of accommodating differences. G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approach-	3. The desires and attitudes of Majority Leader Johnson and Speaker Rayburn made new legislation more likely. Their perceptions of the role of a legislator affected the fight to secure a new civil rights bill.

scribed in Part I. Or you may wish to show slides or films dealing with these incidents. Discuss state government action in terms of the rights of Negroes. What did Negroes want from the federal government?

Film: _The Sit-In_, 2 parts, 6 reels. N.B.C. White Paper. McGraw-Hill.

22. Discuss the influence of events upon public opinion and so upon congressmen. Be sure to take time to analyze the data on the movement of Negroes to northern cities after World War II. — VI C

23. Have pupils begin a "Dictionary of Political Terms on the Legislative Process." What terms have been important enough so far to include in this dictionary?

24. Ask each pupil to list reasons why Johnson and Rayburn favored new civil rights legislation. Then discuss: Why was it important that they both favored new legislation? What influences were at work to make them favor such legislation? (Be sure that you do not leave pupils with the idea that Johnson's presidential ambitions were the only reason for his supporting such legislation. Also be sure to discuss the effects of Johnson's and Rayburn's attitudes toward compromise.) Ask: What other position toward compromise might a legislator take? Which position would be more likely to accomplish the most in the long run? Do you think it is necessary to work out compromises in Congress? Why or why not? Have each pupil write a brief statement about his present views about political compromise in a legislature. Save statements for reassessment at the end of the unit. — I; II B7; III A1; VI A1c; B2b,c; VII A1a

ing a deadlock in the decision.

S <u>Interprets social studies terms.</u>

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

4. Other congressmen also had attitudes and pressures upon them which affected their support of or opposition to new civil rights legislation.

25. Have pupils read different selections on Johnson and Rayburn. Then discuss: What factors helped give each man influence with his fellow-congressmen? Why did these men develop such friendly relationships with people of the other political party? (Try to help pupils understand that the norms of each house demand such relationships. Review meaning of norm from work in seventh grade course. Why do pupils think this is one of the norms?) Also discuss: What effect would these good relationships have upon the power of the Speaker or of the Majority Leader?	I B VI E3 VII A1a	"Lyndon Johnson: Face of The Democratic Party," Reader's Digest, March 17, 1963. Coughlan, "Joe Martin and Sam Rayburn: Proprietors of the House," Reader's Digest, May, 1955. pp. 97-101. Alsop, "Lyndon Johnson: --How Does He Do It," Saturday Evening Post, Jan. 24, 1959, pp. 14 ff. "Mr. Speaker Sam," Newsweek, Jan. 10, 1955, pp. 18-19.
26. Define the meaning of institutions of government. Point out that they include norms as well as legal provisions and rules. Now have each pupil begin a list of ways in which the structure of government affects decision-making. They might put norms in one column and legal provisions and rules in another.	V E	
27. Review what pupils have learned (in the unit on Political Parties and Elections) about the growing importance of the Negro vote. How could the Negroes, who made up only about ten per cent of the population in 1959, possibly affect the outcome of the 1960 election?	VI C	

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

S <u>Reads for details</u>.

S <u>Generalizes from data</u>.

S <u>Sets up hypotheses</u>.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to people outside of government.

G6? Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

G1c Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

B. President Eisenhower and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson made quite different proposals to Congress on civil rights legislation.

1. The President made proposals which called for stronger legislation than did Johnson's proposals.

2. The President could not introduce a bill himself; he had to have some Congressman introduce it for him.

28. Have a pupil read and report on former Congressman Smith's comments about the pressure of public opinion upon Southern Congressmen who did not personally favor segregation. Or you may wish to read aloud quotations from Smith on this subject. Discuss: What role conflicts did Northern Congressmen face?	V D 1b	Frank E. Smith, Congressman from Mississippi, pp. 117-118, 120.
29. Have pupils read Part II of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." Before they begin warn them they must read for details when looking at the two proposals. Suggest they compare any points put opposite each other and then note any differences. Ask pupils to read questions after proposals before reading the proposals. Discuss the questions in caps. You will need to spend considerable time on the differences between Eisenhower's and Johnson's proposals. Define the meaning of "stronger legislation" in the context of civil rights legislation. Discuss the questions following the two proposals. Use further examples of injunctions to illustrate the meaning of injunctions and what a broad injunction provision would have meant. Do not try to have pupils answer the question on the President's influence in detail at this time. Have them develop hypotheses in answer to the question and ask them to check these as they continue reading the case studies.	I C1a IV A1; C1, 2 VI B1; E1d, e	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960" (Form A, Form B, Form C)

S Skims to locate information.

G10 Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

C. The various civil rights bills were sent to the House Judiciary Committee and its sub-committee for study and recommendations.

S Reads for main ideas.

1. Committees are needed because of the number of bill introduced.

S Adjusts reading to type of material and purpose in reading.

S Reads for supporting detail.

30. Review techniques for skimming. Then have pupils skim the section on Congress in the Constitution (and amendments) to see if they can find any section giving Congress the right to legislate on schools. Review (from the Little Rock case) the Supreme Court School Desegregation opinion and the interpretation on which it was based. (What rule did the Court pronounce and what was the basis for the rule?) Discuss: Was the Supreme Court engaged in policy-making?	IV A3 X E	A classroom set of The Constitution of the U.S.
31. Have each pupil make a list of the advantages and disadvantages of using committees in school organizations. Now discuss: Why do you appoint committees to do things? Does it make any difference who is appointed to these committees or who is chairman of a committee? Why or why not? Ask pupils to find out the job of congressional committees as they read further in the case study. Does the make-up of the committees affect bills?	VI E6	
32. Have pupils read Part III of the "Civil Rights Act of 1960" up to the section of public hearings. Before pupils begin, remind them to read footnotes and to answer questions in caps before they continue reading. Review ways of identifying main ideas in paragraphs. Point out that this material is partly narrative and partly exposition. How do these different types of writing differ in terms of the way in which main ideas are stated? (Illustrate with different paragraphs from this case sutdy.) Be sure to review the common use of first sentences as topic sentences in exposition. Go through the first section of this part on the reasons for committees. Ask: What is the main idea of the first paragraph? Is it found expressed in any sentence? If so, in which one? Now do the same thing with some of the other paragraphs. Then ask pupils to complete the rea'ing, looking for the main ideas in each paragraph and noting details which support each idea.	VI E6	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas in which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	2. The composition of the committee and the seniority rule affect power relationships and decision-making.
G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
S <u>Sets up hypotheses and tests against new data</u>.	
G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	3. The two political parties have agreed to give the minority party membership on committees in proportion to its numbers in the House. They have also agreed to other procedures regulating conflict in the House.
G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	
G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions.	

33. Discuss questions raised in this section of the case study on the possible effects of the composition of the committees. Do not try to have pupils come to conclusions at this time. Rather, have them set up hypotheses to text as they read the rest of this case study. Also discuss: How does the seniority rule affect power relationships and decision-making? Again have pupils set up hypotheses based upon tentative generalizations from this data.	VI E6 VII A1b	
34. Have pupils add to their lists on effects of government structure upon legislative decision-making. Let them put question mark after those they still consider only hypotheses.	VI E6	
35. Discuss the possible reasons for the norms on the division of committee membership between minority and majority parties.	II B4 III A3	
36. A pupil might read and report on Bendiner's account of the beginning of a legislative day in the House. Discuss: Why didn't Congressional opponents of these men object to some of their tactics? How would these norms affect legislative decision-making?	II B VI E3 VII A3a	Bendiner, Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill, pp. 98-101.

G6d Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	
G6c2 Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker.	4. Members of the committees were affected by voters back home.
G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	
G6c1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.	5. Interest groups tried to influence bills while they were in committee.

S Reads for main ideas.

S Adjusts reading to type of reading and purposes in reading.

S Reads for details (particularly for comparisons).

S Draws conclusions from data.

37. Have a pupil look up population figures for Celler's Congressional district. What proportion of the people represent different minority groups (especially Negroes)? What influence is this population distribution likely to have upon Celler's legislative decisions? (The pupil might make a graph to show his findings.) VI C2b XI A

38. Before pupils begin reading the rest of Part III, put names of NAACP and B'nai Brith on the chalkboard. Does anyone know what these organizations are? If no one knows, describe their position so that pupils will understand their testimony before the sub-committee hearings. Why would they ask to testify about the civil rights bills? VI C2a

39. Ask students if they have ever joined with others with whom they do not ordinarily agree to defeat or put over some plan or candidate in a club or school activity. Ask students to look for examples of coalitions and temporary associations in the case studies. IB

40. Now have pupils read the rest of Part III of the case study. Remind them to use topic sentences whenever possible to identify the main ideas. Also point out that they will come across the provisions of another bill. How must they adjust their reading for this section?

West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population.even in a democracy.

S <u>Draws conclusions from data.</u>

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temproary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

G1c Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and -- therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

6. The sub-committee recommended a stronger bill than the full Judiciary Committee; the makeup of these two committees affected decisions in them.

41. Ask: Did Celler have as much power as chairman of the full Judiciary Committee as he did as chairman of the sub-committee? Why or why not?	VII A2a	
42. Ask each pupil to start a list of factors which give chairmen of important committees more power than other congressmen on the committees.	VII A1b	
43. Discuss: Why did the northern Democrats on the sub-committee accept so much of the President's program instead of Celler's bill?	I B III C1g III A2;	
44. Now have each pupil try to answer the questions following each provision in the Judiciary Committee bill. (H.R. 8601). He should also write a paragraph explaining how it differed from the President's bill and another how it differed from Johnson's bill. Collect papers and the next day discuss only those points which seem to need further explanation.	I C1e	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.
45. Discuss imaginary situation in class meeting. When would two groups of students on differing sides of question they feel strongly about, be most likely to compromise? When the forces are split 70 to 5? 60 to 15? 37 to 38 or 37 to 37 with one undecided? Why did Celler compromise in the full Judiciary Committee?	III A2; C1g	

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions.

S <u>Tests hypotheses against data</u>.

S <u>Interprets flow charts</u>.

S <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data</u>.

S <u>Sets up hypotheses and tests against new data.</u>

D. The House has several ways of taking up bills out of order on the calendars.

46. Have pupils look at hypotheses which they set up earlier on the possible effects of the composition of committees upon legislative decision-making. Do they think the data they have now found supports or contradicts their hypotheses? Can they accept or reject them completely on the basis of what they now know? Why or why not? Have pupils add to their lists on effects of structure upon legislative decision-making or cross out items if they think their hypotheses must now be rejected.	VI E1, 2, 6	
47. Have a pupil use a China marking pencil to draw in the Judiciary Committee and the sub-committee in the House on the acetate covering over the chart on "How Congress Passes Laws." He should also trace the course of the bill with a different colored pencil. Or have a committee prepare a bulletin board showing the course of the civil rights legislation during 1959-60. Pupils can make sketches to represent House, Judiciary Committee, Judiciary sub-committee, etc. They might be able to find pictures of some of the men who played important roles. They could mount them on the board at appropriate places. If they wish, they could use Bendiner's idea of a parlor game and perils facing a bill rather than mundane titles. This should be an ongoing project. At times the pupils might mount titles raising questions such as "How will Johnson get a bill out of Eastland's bear trap?"	VI E2b,c	
48. Have pupils read Part IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1960. Before they begin, ask pupils to define the word "Controversial." Would the civil rights bills be considered controversial or non-controversial? Review the meaning of gerrymander and ask pupils to look for an example in this part. Have pupils read the section, trying to answer questions in caps before they proceed. Ask them to make a list of ways in which the House can take up a bill quickly, once a committee has recommended it. They should write a sentence after each about the ease with which the procedure can be used on controversial bills. They should keep this list and add to it during their study of later materials.	I B1 II B2,5 VI A1a,b; B2b; C1; D2a; 3a; E1, 2c,3,6 VII A1b,c, 2a; B2 IX B2 X F	West "Civil Rights Act of 1960" Forms A, B, C.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions. A VALUES OBJECTIVITY. G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	1. Controversial bills must usually get a special rule from the Rules Committee. This gives the Rules Committee and its chairman great power.
G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions. G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy. G10 Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	2. The seniority rule and state action in drawing district lines affected the decision-making of the Rules Committee, since chairmen of important committees have great power.

49. Show pupils sample legislative calendars (from their own state legislature and from congress). Have pupils make the appropriate comparisons between each type of calendar and the suggested types of class assignment lists discussed in the case study. What would be the advantage of having several types of calendars rather than just one?	VI E2	Excerpts from Congressional calendars can be found in Dixon and Plischke, 96-97. Sample copies of State legislative calendars.
50. Pupils may be upset by the power of the Rules Committee and of its chairman. If so, point out the need for objective examination, not just rejection of the committee because they don't like its action on this one bill.	VII Alb,c c	
51. Have pupils add to their list of factors giving committee chairmen more power than other congressmen have. Ask: Do you think that it is right to give one man so much power? Why or why not? Have pupils write a statement of their position at this point, and come back to these statements later in the unit to see if they still agree with them.	VII Alb	
52. Ask: How had actions of a state legislature affected power relationships in the House? Suppose the majority rule had not existed and that chairmen were elected by committee members. Do you think that it would have made any difference in this case? Why or why not? Now suppose that chairmen had been elected by the majority of the majority party in the House. Do you think that it might have made any difference in this case? Why or why not? What eventually led to Smith's defeat in the 1966 primary? How had an action by the Supreme Court affected power relationships in the House?	VI E5 VII Alb; B2 X F	

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are involved.

G9 Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have different attitudes toward a number of issues.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

S <u>Sets up hypotheses</u>.

3. A coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans managed to block civil rights legislation temporarily.

4. The attitudes of committee members were very important in affecting decision-making in the Rules Committee.

5. The norms of the House may be more important or at least as important as formal rules in influencing actions of congressmen.

53. Discuss: Why couldn't the Democrats get a special rule when they had a majority both in the House and on the Rules Committee. What factors were likely to affect the voting decisions and other decisions of different members on the Rules Committee?	I B1 IX B2	
54. Read aloud an excerpt from the House rule on discharge petitions. Be sure to discuss the difference between a formal rule and House norms. Can one describe the legislative process only by looking at formal rules and constitutional provisions? Why or why not?	II B2 VI B2b; E3	The rule on the discharge petition can be found in Dixon and Plischke, p. 91.
55. Ask: Can you think of any other possible ways by which the House might get important bills before the House for debate? List any suggestions and point out that the class will discuss them in more detail later in the unit.		

S <u>Sets up hypotheses</u>.

G12 Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

S <u>Reads for detail</u>.

E. The Civil rights bills introduced in the Senate were stalled in the Senate Judiciary Committee during the entire session.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

56. Discuss: Which has the greater advantage in the legislative battle: those who are trying to pass a bill or those who are trying to defeat a bill? Why? (Let pupils set up hypotheses to test as they follow later stages of the civil rights struggle.)	XII B1	
57. Have a pupil report on the Bendiner account of how another committee chairman went home when he didn't want to report a bill passed in his committee. Discuss: Why didn't the committee members do something about this?	II B5 VII A1b	Bendiner, <u>Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill</u>, pp. 61-63.
58. Be sure the committee of pupils responsible for tracing the course of civil rights legislation on the chart or bulletin board trace it to the Rules Committee before pupils read the next section. Ask all pupils to trace the course of the bills in the Senate as they read the next part of the case study. Have the committee add to the wall chart.		Wall chart on "How Congress Passes a Law."
59. Have a pupil read and report on the use of riders. Discuss: Why might congressmen try to tack a rider onto a bill? (Be sure to bring out different purposes.) Ask pupils to look for attempted use of and accepted use of riders on civil rights legislation in the Senate. Would a rule against riders affect Congressional decision-making? Why?	VI E2c	Bendiner, <u>Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill</u>, p. 115.
60. Before pupils read part five on the "Civil Rights Act of 1960," review: (1) the broad injunction proposal made by strong civil right advocates, (2) the essence of the Supreme Court School Desegregation Decision, (3) the purposes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now have pupils read Part V of the case study.	VI C2 X G	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.

G6c1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G3 Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

G3b Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching on the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.

1. Similar bills were introduced into both houses of Congress in order to save time.

2. The composition of committees affected the testimony at hearings.

3. The Senate rules affected the work of the Judiciary sub-committee, the full Judiciary committee, and and the Senate as a whole.

4. The seniority system made a southerner the chairman of the Committee to which the bills were sent; he used all of the rules possible to bottle the the bills up in committee.

5. A compromise was worked out to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission and to adjourn Congress.

61. Have pupils look once more at the wall chart tracing the progress of civil rights bills thus far. Ask: Why do those who wish a bill generally get similar bills introduced into both houses at about the same time?

62. Ask pupils who have read Form A of the case study to describe briefly what goes on during testimony at hearings. Ask: How does the composition of the committee affect the hearings? What does this data indicate about the role of interest groups in the legislative process? VI C2a

63. Ask: How did the rules of the Senate affect the work of the Judiciary sub-committee, the full Judiciary Committee, and the Senate as a whole? How did the norm on seniority affect the work of the full committee? VI E2,6 VII A1b XII B

Ask pupils to list the compromises worked out at the end of the 1959 session. Discuss: Why were different groups willing to make these compromises? What factors led congressmen to compromise on civil rights legislation during the entire 1959 session? What factors led some to refuse compromise? I B1,3 III A; B1; C1

G1 Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

65. Begin discussing the questions on the 1959 legislative session as presented in the Case Study. After discussing the first two questions, ask: How does the structure of Congress in terms of ways in which chairmen are selected affect the power relationships among members in Congress? To what extent do chairmen and other members of Congress differ in their political power? How does the structure of Congress affect Negroes' access to policy makers -- that is, their ability to influence them? VI E2c,3, 4,6 VII A1b,c, B2; C2

66. Have pupils add to their listof factors affecting the power of committee chairmen. VII A1b

67. Now discuss questions 3-4 on the 1959 session. (See case study.) Ask pupils to generalize about rules of conduct agreed to by the political parties in spite of their conflict. Discuss ways in which sports leagues agree on rules for conduct of conflict (e.g. football games). Why do they set up such rules? Why do organizations set up election rules for officers? What kinds of talk or action do they consider unjust in competition for school elections or in sports games or card games? What happens to pupils if they violate these rules or norms? Why would Congressmen find it necessary to agree to certain norms of conduct? II B2 VII A3b

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

G6a Any decision is in part a prodict of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

A. BELIEVES IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

A. VALUES INSTITUTIONS AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING HUMAN WELFARE, NOT BECAUSE OF TRADITION. IS WILLING TO CHANGE INSTITUTIONS AS TIMES CREATE NEW PROBLEMS.

F. New public pressure brought renewed efforts to strengthen civil rights legislation.
   1. The Sit-In movement and the reaction to it aroused public opinion in the North.

68. Ask each pupil to write a paragraph answering question five and a paragraph answering question 6 from the list of questions on the 1959 session. (Or you may wish to have pupils make lists instead.) Collect papers. Now have the class make a composite list of ways in which the President had affected the course of the civil rights legislation and another of factors affecting decisions by individual congressmen. Discuss: What bearing does this data have upon the idea of separation of powers in this country? How does the 1959 session illustrate problems of role-conflict facing Congressmen?	IV Al; Cla, 2a; VIAla, b,c; Bl; Cl, 2b; Dlb,2a,b, 3c; E3	
69. Ask: How do you think Eastland and Smith viewed their role as legislators? Do you think these two men took a strong stand against civil rights only because their voters wanted them to? Why or why not? Perhaps bring out these points by having three students role-play an interview between a newspaper reporter and Smith and Eastland.	VIAla, b, c	
70. Have pupils pretend they are congressmen first from a southern state and then from a northern state. They should write newsletters to their constituents explaining their stand on civil rights.	VIAla, b; C	
71. If pupils have not studied the Project Social Studies course for grade 7, have a pupil or a committee give an illustrated report on the Sit-In Movement. Or show the film <u>The Sit-In</u>.	ICl	Proudfoot, <u>Diary of a Sit-In</u>, <u>Readers' Guide</u> Film: <u>The Sit In</u>, 2 parts 6 reels

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

S. <u>Reads for details</u> (for comparisons).

S. <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations to new data</u>.

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G1c Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

G6d1 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

		N.B.C. White Paper, McGraw-Hill.
72. Have pupils read Part VI of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." They should read for details when they come to the new proposals and should look for comparisons between these different proposals and those made earlier.	IC1 IVA2, C VIC1c, 2b VIID VIIIC	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A,B,C.
73. Discuss: What brought additional pressures to bear for a new civil rights law? What effects did our federal government structure have upon attempts to further rights of Negroes?	VI C1,2b; Ele XIA	

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS. VALUES INDEPENDENT THOUGHT.

2. Two major proposals were made to strengthen the 1959 bills; supporters of civil rights disagreed on their relative merits.

G6d1. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

G5. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G7. Political power is distributed unevenly even in a democracy.

A9. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

G6d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G. Johnson and Dirkson got around Senate rules to get a civil rights bill to the floor of the Senate, however, a filibuster stalled the bill there.

74. Have a committee role-play the Senate hearing at which Rogers and opponents testified on the referee and registrar plans. (Remember that form C does not describe the differences in as much detail as form A.) Discuss: How was the President influencing legislation? How could legislative leaders use such hearings to educate the public and win public support for a proposal? Why might it be important for congressional leaders to try to educate the public rather than just reacting to current public pressures?	IVA1 VA2	
75. Now that students have learned the role of the Rules Committee in bringing bills before the House, have a student investigate the way in which bills are scheduled in the Senate.	VIIA1a	Bendiner, <u>Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill</u>, p. 27.
76. Have pupils read Part VII of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." Tell them to try to find out how Johnson and Dirkson kept their promise to get a civil rights bill onto the floor for debate, how Senate rules on debate differed from House rules and how the difference in rules affected legislative decision-making.	IIB9 VIE2c	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1960." Forms A,B,C.

G7.	Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
G2.	Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of of the conflict.	
G7	Political power is distributed unevenly even in a democracy.	1. Johnson and Dirksen were able to act in a way which went against Senate norms only because they were the leaders of the two parties.
G6d	The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	2. The Senate rule permitted a rider which House rules would not have permitted.
G2	Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	3. The rules of the Senate which permit filibustering prevented the Senate from coming to a vote for a long time. The rule on cloture makes it very difficult to end debate.

77. Discuss: Why did the Senate permit Johnson and Dirksen to break Senate norms in getting a civil rights bill to the floor for debate? VIIA3b

78. Discuss: How did the civil rights struggle in the Senate during 1960 illustrate the effects of rules (structure) upon legislative decision-making? What might have happened if the Senate permitted no riders? What might have happened if the Senate limited debate in the way the House does? IIB9 VIE2c

79. Have pupils add to their lists on effects of government structure upon legislative decision-making. VIE

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conflict.

G12 Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

G12 Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.

80. Ask pupils to define the term filibuster and to explain possible purposes of a filibuster. Then have them skim Constitutional provisions on Congress to find out if there is any mention of filibustering. How did this institution develop? Why did it develop in the Senate but not in the House?	IIB9 XIIB2	Classroom Set of U.S. Constitution
81. Pupils might be asked to assume the role of a Senator who has received a letter from a constituent complaining about the rule which permits a filibuster. Each should write a letter explaining the reasons for the rule and then indicating his opinion on whether or not it should be changed.	IIB9	
82. Ask several volunteers to role-play an argument among senators about whether or not they should vote for cloture during the filibuster on civil rights during 1960.	VIA; B2; C; D3 XIIB2	
83. Have a pupil give a report on what happened to the liberal senators who tried to change the cloture rule and what happened to those who supported the leaders in this fight at the beginning of the 87th Congress. How would such pressures tend to affect senators' actions? You may wish to project a table showing what happened to committee assignment requests of those who favored new cloture rules and those who did not.	VIB2b	West, "Congressional Committees," Table in Woll, ed. <u>American Government</u> 460.

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

4. Johnson and Dirksen beat down the efforts of both southerners and northern liberals to amend the bill.

   a. Liberal amendments would have led to a bitter to-the-end fight by southerners.

   b. Southern amendments would not have been acceptable to northerners.

G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

S <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations and concepts</u>.

S <u>Generalizes from data</u>.

H. The threat of a successful discharge motion (brought on by public exposure of names on the petition) forced the Civil Rights bill out of the Rules Committee. However, the Committee's special rule helped to mold the kind of bill passed by the House.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

1. Speaker Rayburn had considerable influence over the passage of the House bill.

84. Discuss: How do you think northern liberals reacted to Johnson when he helped defeat their proposal for changing rules on cloture? When he helped defeat their amendments to strengthen the civil rights bill? Do you think Johnson was helping or hurting the cause of civil rights when he acted in these ways? Why? If he wanted a new civil rights bill, why did he act in this way?	I B III A2; B1; C1f	
85. Another pupil might report on Bendiner's argument about why congressmen are willing to permit so many delaying tactics. (He should report on the kinds of tactics used and on the degree of delay caused by the tactics.)	II B VI E2c VII A3a	Bendiner, <u>Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill</u>, pp. 100-101.
86. Have pupils read Part VIII of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." As they read they should look for examples of role conflict and various factors influencing the final House decision.	VI B2b VII A2a, 3	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.
87. Review the usual kinds of pressures upon Congressmen to follow rules and norms. Then discuss: Why did northern liberals dare break the House rule about making names on a discharge petition public?	VI B2b VII A3b	

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the people making the decisions.	
G6b The decision maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.	2. Northern liberals used public pressure to get more signatures for the discharge petition.
G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.	
G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	3. After Smith gave in under the threat of a successful discharge petition and called hearings on the bill, the Rules Committee voted a special rule to bring the bill to the House floor for debate.

88. Review the factors which give the House Speaker more power than other members of the House. Then ask: How did Rayburn affect the discharge petition? How did he affect the bill which was recommended by the Committee of the Whole?	VI A;B2b VII Ala
89. Discuss: How did modern mass media (newspapers, etc.) affect the passage of the Civil Rights Act? Suppose this bill had come up during a general newspaper and TV worker strike? Would so many congressmen have been likely to sign the discharge petition? Why or why not?	VI Clb
90. Ask each pupil to write a brief paragraph on "Role Conflicts of House Members" as shown by the data on the 1960 session on civil rights. Then discuss: What role conflict did Republicans face over the discharge petition? Why do congressmen usually like the fact that there is no role-call vote in the Committee of the Whole? If you want to know more about the position of your congressmen on a certain bill, is it enough to study his voting record? Why or why not?	VI Clb; Dlb,3a,c; E2c
91. Discuss: Why didn't Smith continue to refuse a special rule? (What reasons did he have for compromising? Why was it better for him to give in?) Why was the Rules Committee willing to permit an amendment	IIIA; Clh

4. Committee chairmen have less power outside of their committees than they do in their committees; however, Smith as leader of the southern Democrats and chairman of the Rules Committee had more power than did Celler.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

S <u>Generalizes from data</u>.

5. The use of the Committee of the Whole speeds legislation.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules for regulating the conduct of conflict.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which authoritative

to include the referee system but not any other amendments?

92. Have the committee of students responsible for the wall chart on passing a bill bring this chart up to date.

93. Remind pupils that Celler had a good deal of power in his own committee. How much power did he have outside of his committee? How much power did Smith have outside of his committee? Why? What does this data show about political power? — VII A2a, VI E6

94. Let pupils check their lists on factors affecting the power of committee chairmen. Do they wish to change these lists at all? Why or why not? — VII A1b

95. Discuss: How did the rules of the House (in the Committee of the Whole and in debate on the bill) affect legislation? Why did Democrats who had a two-thirds majority vote permit the Republicans any chance to speak in the House? (In fact, why do the two parties usually divide the time for speaking evenly?) — II B8, VI E2c

96. Have pupils add to their lists on effects of government structure upon legislative decision-making. — VI E

decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect those decisions.

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

S Reads for detail (for comparisons).

1. The Senate amended the House bill, but the House accepted the amendments and the President signed the bill.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

97. Discuss: Why did southerners vote to support a liberal amendment in the Committee of the Whole?	I B4	
98. Have pupils read the last part of "The Civil Rights Act of 1960." Ask them to find out how differences in bills passed by the two houses can be ironed out. Also ask them to compare the final bill with the proposals of the President and of Johnson. Which man's proposals came closer to the final bill?	II B1a VI E1d XII A2a	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1960," Forms A, B, C.
99. Before pupils discuss this final part of the case study, have the committee working on the wall chart trace the bill through the final stages on the chart on how bills are passed. Ask the class: What other way might the differences in the bills in the two houses have been worked out? How does the division of the legislative body into two houses affect the speed of legislation?	XII A3	
100. Have pupils add to their list on the effects of structure upon decision-making.	VI E	

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G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G1c Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

G1 In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic; The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G3 Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6 Decision-making in a democracy is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

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101. Discuss: Why didn't the southerners filibuster on the bill which came from the Judiciary Committee? Why didn't Smith try to stall the bill again in the Rules Committee when it needed a rule to send the bill as amended by the Senate to the floor for debate?	III C1
102. Have pupils look once more at the chart of the political system (see overview.) How have different components affected each other?	XI A; B; C; D; E; F
103. Now have pupils summarize the whole struggle by discussing the questions at the end of the case study. Get them to prepare a list of tentative generalizations which can serve as hypotheses about factors which they think affect power relations, decision-making, and compromise in any legislative struggle. They should keep the list to check against later case studies. Also have pupils make a list of proposed reforms (see question 11), with pros and cons for each. They should save this list and come back to it after studying the other case studies.	I A2a: C1,2 III A2; B1; 2,3; C1f,g,h IV A1; C1,2 VI A; B1,2; C; E1,2,3, 5,6,7 VII A1b

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G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect those decisions.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

S <u>Sets up hypotheses and tests them against new data.</u>

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

V. The legislator's function is not just to make policy decicions or to legislate.

A. Part of his job is to legislate: to work on committees, to study bills, to take part in debate, to vote, and at times to introduce and to try to secure passage of bills.

1. His work on committee work is probably most important for the ordinary congressman.
2. Some of this committee work involves overseeing administrative agencies, not just policy-making.

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104. Point out that before the class looks at another case study, it might be wise for pupils to find out more about the jobs of a congressman. What responsibilities does he have? What is his day like? Have pupils read or read aloud to them Bolling's account of how a congressman might try to answer the constituents' criticisms. Suggest that pupils should try to decide, as they read accounts of congressman's day, whether or not Bolling's explanation makes sense or not.	V A,C VI B,C,D XI A,C	Bolling, <u>House Out of Order</u>, pp. 17-20

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components. G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government. G5 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.	B. Part of his job is to serve as errand boy for his constituency, in mediating between them and administrative agencies. C. Part of his job is the political one of getting re-elected; this involves a tremendous correspondence, returning to the district to make the rounds of the district and consult with constituents, and receiving visitors galore, as well as voting in such a fashion as to please the voters in his district.

105. Now have pupils read different accounts of a day in the life of a congressman. Most might read the short accounts by Clark and Miller or Humphrey's description of the job of a congressman. A good student might read the account of former Senator Lehman in Bailey and Samuel. Then discuss: What are the jobs of a congressman? How might the crowded schedule (which is partly due to the structure within which he works) affect his decisions and actions on Congress? (How might it affect the amount of time he can spend on studying bills which come to the floor? Whose advice would he be likely to ask if he hasn't time to study them?) How does the Congressman attempt to help his constituents with administrative agencies? Why do you think he is frequently effective in doing so?	VI D,E	Baker, ed. Member of the House, Letters of a Congressman, by Clem Miller, pp. 66-68; Humphrey, The Cause is Mankind, pp. 164-165; Clark, Congress: the Sapless Branch, pp. 64-66; Bailey and Samuel, Congress at Work, pp. 97-112.
106. Have a pupil prepare a bulletin board on "The Jobs of a Congressman." Or have each pupil draw a cartoon, prepare a chart or write an imaginary editorial on the effects of the many jobs of a congressman upon decision-making.		

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to people outside of government.

Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G5 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

G5 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

107. Have several pupils investigate and report on the way in which a different congressman handles his mail and the way in which different congressmen react to their mail. (Average readers might read excerpts from Clark and Clem Miller (in Baker). Better readers might read Bailey and Clapp. Have the class compare accounts. Also discuss: How can congressmen use their mail as an educational device and to gain support of voters?	VI C;D VC	Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, pp. 56-61; Baker, ed., Member of the House, pp. 71-72; Clapp, The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It, pp. 69-76; Bailey and Samuel, Congress at Work, pp. 95-102.
108. Obtain copies of any newsletter issued by a local congressman or senator or legislator. Have students examine it to see how this legislator attempts to communicate with his constituents.	V A	
109. Have one of the good readers in class read and report on Clark's account of seeing members of his constituency while they are in Washington.	VI C	Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, pp. 61-64.
110. Have pupils read Miller's account of his tour to "mend his fences." Discuss: Why was Miller spending his vacation in this fashion?	V A VI C	Baker, ed., Member of the House, pp. 77-79.
111. Have a pupil read the brief account on Sneator Humphrey at work in trying to pass a Youth Conservation Corps bill. The pupil might tell the class about how this case supports or refutes any of their hypotheses about factors influencing legislative decision-making. Also discuss: What aspect	VI	Amrine, This is Humphrey pp. 165-167.

S <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations.</u>

D. Part of his job is to become better acquainted with other legislators, to comply with legislative norms, and in other ways to build his prestige in the legislature so that he will develop influence there.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules for regulating the conduct of conflict.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

G8 In general, the style of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.

S <u>Evaluates sources of information for bias and competency of authors.</u>

of the Congressman's job does this case illustrate?

112. Review with pupils some of norms they have read about for Congressmen. Why were these norms developed? Now have pupils read other descriptions of norms in Congress and in state legislatures. Discuss: Why do legislators follow norms? Why did these norms develop in the first place? (Review with pupils what they have learned earlier about effects of members of groups upon other members.) Discuss effect of following or breaking norms on a legislator's power. Include norms for regulating conflict as well as getting things done etc.) Discuss way in which norms become internalized (legislators bdcome socialized.)	II B1,6; D VI A 2a; B2b; D2a VII A3a VIIIB2	Bendiner, Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill! pp. 103-107. Baker, ed., Member of the House, pp. 104-105 Clapp, The Congressman pp. 12-15. Wahlke, et al., The Legislative System pp. 143-147, 152-154.
113. A very capable student might prepare an oral report on the legislative career of Wayne Morse. He should analyze the ways in which Morse violated norms and try to decide whether Morse has become influential despite these violations.	VII A3	Robert Smith, Tiger in the Senate
114. Read aloud or have a good student read and report on the pressures put on Humphrey after his fight with Senator Byrd and on how Humphrey finally achieved	VI B2b VIII A	White, The Citadel Griffith, Humphrey, 188-194.

G6c1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.	VI. Interest groups try to influence legislators in many ways.
G6c2 Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker.	A. Legislators make policies which influence the interest groups. B. Legislators pay more attention to interest groups than to isolated voters.
G6d The insitutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	

influence after getting off to a bad start. Have pupils analyze the bias and competency of authors.		Amrine, This Is Humphrey, pp. 147ff., 160.
115. Have a member of the city council, the state legislature, or Congress come to the class to discuss what is it like to serve in a legislative body. Have students ask questions based on what they have learned about the legislative process.		
116. Review examples of interest groups at work in the struggle to pass the civil rights bill of 1960. Discuss: Is it proper for interest groups to participate in government? Have students read comments by Congressman Clem Miller on value of interest groups and by Senator Bridges on "A Senator Objects to Pressure Groups." A good student might also read and report on a lobbyist's point of view. Others might read about the gas lobby. Discuss the arguments pro and con.	VI C2a,b	Baker, ed; Member of Congress, pp. 71-72. Bridges in Burkhart, pp. 123-125. "Lobbies and Pressure Groups: A Lobbyist's Point' of View" in Morlan, pp. 118-122. "Gas Lobby Amazes Senators," Washington Post and Times Herald, Feb. 13, 1956, p. 14.
117. A good reader or several good readers might like to read the case entitled The Real Voice on the battle for a new law to regulate drugs. The report to the class might emphasize the role of interest groups, the role of members of administrative agencies, and the role of investigating committees in passing this legislation.	IV A1; C2b V A3 VI C2a,b	Harris, The Real Voice.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G5. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

S <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.</u>

G6b1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

G6b2 Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic, but the most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-maker.

S <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations.</u>

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

VII. There was a successful attempt to change the Rules Committee in 1961 in order to make it more likely to go along with the wishes of the majority of the majority party in the House.

A. There were many arguments for and against the Rules Committee as it existed in 1960.

118. Students might be asked to write a brief paper on how they would attempt to bring pressure to bear upon Congress for some legislation in which they are interested. Or they should specify the pressure points at which they would try to bring pressure, and the techniques they would use in the imaginary case proposed by Eliot.	VI C2a,b	Eliot, et al. American Government: Readings and Problems for Analysis, pp. 194-198.
119. Before having pupils read the case study on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it would be wise to have them pay more attention to the Rules Committee and the fight to change it. Have them read the introductory paragraphs of "The House Rules Committee" and stop before they come to the discussion of pros and cons. Discuss the questions riased in review of the powers of the Rules Committee. Then have each pupil try to list in writing what he sees as the arguments. Make	I A2b; B1 VI E1,2c VII A1b XII B1	West, "The House Rules Committee", Forms A,B,C.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

A IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS. VALUES INDEPENDENT THOUGHT.

A VALUES INSTITUTIONS AS MEANS OF PROMOTING HUMAN WELFARE, NOT BECAUSE OF TRADITION; IS WILLING TO CHANGE INSTITUTIONS AS TIMES CREATE NEW PROBLEMS.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G9 Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have differing motives for joining the group, differing degrees of loyalty to the group, and different attitudes toward a number of issues.

S <u>Interprets tables and draws inferences from them.</u>

S <u>Applies previously learned generalizations.</u>

B. The seniority system and the general makeup of the Rules Committee had meant that it had not represented the majority of the Democrats in the House when the Democrats controlled the House.

a master list for the class. Suggest that pupils should check to see how the class list compares with the arguments presented in the project paper.		
120. After pupils have read the rest of part one of the case study on the Rules Committee, discuss the pros and cons of the Rules Committee as it existed in 1960. Be sure to discuss questions raised in the paper. Have pupils compare these arguments with the class list. Also have them suggest possible ways of changing the Rules Committee. They should list possible changes and the reasons for each proposed change.	I A2b VI E1,2c VII A1b IX B2 XII 2a,3; B1.	
121. Now have pupils study Part II of the paper on the Rules Committee. It is probably most effective to have them read this section by section, analyzing	VI E2,5, 6,7 VII A1c; B1,2	West, "The House Rules Committee" Forms A,B,C.

A	VALUES OBJECTIVELY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATIONS OF EVIDENCE, ALTHOUGH RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF VALUES IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT PROBLEMS WHICH DEMAND ACTION.	
G12	Taking the policy making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.	
G6d	The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	
G6a	Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.	C. Speaker Rayburn decided to try to change the Rules Committee in 1961 in order to make it possible to pass Kennedy's legislative program. He was opposed by Southern Democrats led by Chairman Smith of the Rules Committee.
G6b	The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.	
G7	Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
S	<u>Applies previously learned concepts and generalizations</u>.	
S	<u>Applies previously learned generalizations.</u>	1. Rayburn decided to try to enlarge the committee rather than to purge a Democrat who had opposed his party's candidate for President.
G6a	Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons	

the tables in class. Or divide the class up into groups, each group to study and report on a different table. A group might wish to make a graph to illustrate the data in its table. Remind pupils to examine titles and column headings carefully before looking at figures. Be sure that you have a map of the U. S. on the board, with the country divided up into regions so that pupils can follow the table on regions more intelligently. Before pupils study the table on - party unity score, define this term. Define safe-competitive district before pupils study table 4. When pupils have completed Part II, look again at the arguments raised concerning the Rules Committee in 1960. Do they think the data in the tables support the criticisms of the Committee or not?	IX C2 IV D3d XIIB	
122. Have pupils read part III of the "House Rules Committee." Discuss the ways in which Rayburn and Smith looked at the role of a congressman and achieved influence.	I A2b; B1 II B4,7 IV A1; D3d VI A1a,b c; B2b,c VII A1a, b,c.	West, "The House Rules Committee," Forms A,B,C
123. Have pupils read Part IV of the "House Rules Committee". Pick a group of pupils to role play a strategy session among liberal Democrats. What strategy do they want Rayburn to follow? Why? Then have Rayburn attend the meeting (in the person of another student.) He should explain his strategy. Discuss the factors which influenced Rayburn's	I B2 II B3,4 III C1a,b,c VI A1, 2a,c; B2b; D1a; E1,3 VII A3b	West, "The House Rules Committee" Forms A,B,C

making the decisions.

G6c The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers.

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect the decisions.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

Same as above plus:

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

2. Southern Democrats and Republicans formed a coalition to try to defeat Rayburn's plan.
3. Both sides used many ways of trying to influence congressmen to support their side.
4. The House finally voted to enlarge the Rules Committee.

decision on strategy. Also discuss the questions raised in the paper. How did the structure of Congress affect Rayburn's decision? How did his own values and perceptions affect his decision? How did his assessment of the power of his opponents affect his decision?

124. After pupils have read part V, discuss the tactics used to influence individual congressmen to vote in certain ways. How did congressional leaders try to influence them? How did the President try to influence them? What kinds of role conflict did some of the congressmen face? (Note particularly the southerners who promised to vote with Rayburn only if he needed their votes.) Now discuss all of the questions listed at the end of this part of the paper. (Also ask: Why didn't violence break out on the	I B1,2 II A2; B3,4 III C1a, d, 2a VI A1a, b,c; B1a,2b; C1a,b,c; 2a; D1a,3f E2,3,6	West, "The House Rules Committee," Forms A,B,C

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of the conflict. G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences. G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components. A RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREVIOUS CONCEPTIONS.		
G6 Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.	VIII.	Decision-making in state legislatures and city councils is subject to the same kinds of influence as is decision-making in Congress.
G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality. G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.		

	House floor when tempers were so high and people felt so keenly about the issue?) Leave the rest of this paper for study after pupils have studied the case study on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To study this section now would make it more difficult for pupils to understand the struggle over the 1964 act.	VII A1a VIII D1a XI D,E	
125.	Show the film Man in the Middle. Ask pupils to look for similarities between the role conflicts of state legislators and those of Congressmen.	VI	Film: Man in the Middle : State Legislator, 2 parts, $5\frac{1}{2}$ reels, N.B.C. White Paper, McGraw-Hill.
126.	Have a good student report to the class on "Dunley Buys a Fire Truck" a case in a city council. He should summarize the case briefly and then analyze the influence of pressure groups, the administration, and the personal beliefs of the councilmen. Compare with what pupils have learned about decision-making among congressmen and state legislators.	I A VI	Frost, ed. Cases in State and Local Government, pp. 180-193.
127.	Have a good student read and report to the class on the attempt to secure floridation of New York City's water supply. He should pay particular attention to the operation of pressure groups and the role of the mayor.	I A VI B;C2	Frost, ed., Cases in State and Local Government, pp. 50-61.

S <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations.</u>

A DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

G1 All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G1c Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

G12 Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.

G6d2 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the

IX. New civil rights struggles brought pressures upon Congress to pass a new civil rights act.

A. Negroes continued to face discrimination in public facilities and in privately-owned stores catering to the public. They still found it hard to vote. Court cases meant long delays in any attempt to win their rights.

B. Negroes continued numerous kinds of demonstrations (sit-ins, boycotts, freedom rides, etc.) which led to violence and arrests; white people from the North frequently joined them and were also arrested. The arrest of northern whites probably increased northern reactions against southern discrimination.

128.	Tell pupils that they are now going to study the attempt to pass a new civil rights act in 1963-64. A new act was finally passed in 1964. Ask: Why do you think people wanted a new act? Tell pupils that Part I of the paper they will read will tell them more about the events which led to the attempt to pass new legislation. Before pupils begin to read, review the meaning of injunction. Also review what pupils learned earlier about discrimination in applying literacy tests in the South. Pupils should try to find out as they read whether the Civil Rights Act of 1960 ended such discrimination and whether the injunction provision on voting rights from the earlier acts when combined with the referee provision of the 1960 act was sufficient to protect voting rights. Now have pupils read part one of "The Civil Rights Act of 1964."	I A2a; B3; C1a,b III C2b VI C1b; E1e VII D XI A,B,F XII A1	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.

other components.

G1b Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

See generalizations above:
S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

S Uses Reader's Guide to locate information.
S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.
A DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

G6d1 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences in autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.
G3b Compromise is more easily achieved in those political

129.	Discuss: Do you think the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 had proved effective in achieving their stated goals? Why or why not? Ask: Who was the author of the quotation on the freedom rides? What might his bias be? Why? Is he telling only what he himself saw? Would the man he quotes have any bias? Why? How can we find out if Peck is telling an accurate story of what happened?	I C1a,b VII D XII A1
130.	If pupils did not have the Project Social Studies seventh grade course, you may wish to have some of them give illustrated reports on some of the incidents described in this part. Illustrated magazines such as <u>Life</u> carried many photo stories of some of them. The other news magazines carried highly descriptive reports, and frequently included photographs. Remind pupils of how to locate such information through the use of the <u>Reader's Guide.</u> Ask them to identify author's bias and competency.	I C1a,b,2
131.	Discuss effect of federalism upon attempts to gain increased civil rights. Ask: Why did Republican Senator Goldwater join southern Democrats in opposing new legislation? Do you think Russell really meant to battle civil rights legislation to the death? If not, why did he make such an extreme statement? Why would it be difficult to reach a compromise	I A2a; B1;C1b,2 III B1 VI E1a,e

systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.

S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

S. Reads for details

A RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

C. Kennedy postponed making proposals for a new civil rights law because he needed the support of southern Democrats for other legislation. He was finally forced to submit a proposal when the Republicans submitted one; he could not afford to look less like a supporter of civil rights than the Republicans. Even then he did not propose many changes. Later, after new civil rights incidents, he made proposals for stronger legislation.

when southerners felt so strongly about the civil rights question?		
132. You might like to invite a participant in one of the freedom rides or civil rights movements to speak to the class. There are a number of them in the North. Or you might like to play part of the tape made by the University of Minnesota graduate student who was arrested for insurrection in Georgia. What would his bias be? Is he making a highly inflamatory statement? Discuss: What do you think the reaction was in the Twin Cities when this Twin Cities resident was arrested on this charge?	I Cla,b VI C	P.S.S. tape--Zev Aelony's talk to 8th grade class.
133. Discuss: What do you think was the most important factor in arousing public opinion in the North for new civil rights legislation? (Be sure to discuss the governor's defiance of Kennedy and the courts plus the arrests and beatings of northerners.	VI C	
134. If possible, play a tape or recording of one of Kennedy's speeches at the time of the Meredith incident.	I C1,2 VI E1 XI F	
135. Remind pupils that John Kennedy became president in January of 1961. Tell them about his move to help Martin Luther King when King was imprisoned during the fall of 1960. (You may have to tell them who King is.) Describe the effect of Kennedy's move upon Negro reactions. Point out that Kennedy had not proposed a new civil rights act during 1961-1962. They should read for details--to compare Kennedy's proposals with Civil Rights Act of 1960. Before pupils begin reading, define term "public accommodations."	III Cle VIII C XI E	

S. Reads for details.

G4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G8. In general, the style of the leader is determined more by expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

A. RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G1c. Government action may both protect and restrict individual rights.

136. Now have pupils read part II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They should list Kennedy's proposals on one side of a sheet with the reasons for them on the opposite side. Pupils should keep these lists to check later on whether or not they were passed. (They should make this list in two parts to represent Kennedy's first and second proposals.) Discuss Kennedy's reasons for postponing and then finally submitting proposals for a new civil rights bill. Why didn't he submit a proposal for greater changes?	III Cle IV A1;C VI A1;C1 VIIIB,C XI E	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.
137. Discuss the events which led to public support for an even stronger measure. If pupils have not studied the seventh grade PSS course, you may wish to have illustrated oral reports on some of these events. You might also project samples of newspaper and magazine accounts or headlines of some of the events as reported in northern newspapers. Discuss the mixed reactions of people to riots. (Try to bring out the fear on part of some that riots and disorder would get worse if Negroes were not given more rights.)	IA; C1. a,b,2, III C2b VI C1c, 2 VII D XI A;B;C XII A1	

G12. Taking the policy-making process as a whole, the general strategic advantages usually lie with the status quo.

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

S. Skims to locate information.

G4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations.

138. Now have pupils compare the two different proposals made by Kennedy. Why did Kennedy make stronger proposals the second time?	VI C	
139. Discuss the problems in bringing change even after a law has been passed. How did the South manage to promote the status quo?	XII A1	
140. Have students follow newspaper for a week, skimming to locate cases of an executive submitting a proposal to a legislative body for action. (Review skill of skimming a newspaper.)	IV A 1	
141. Have pupils read part III of "The Civil Rights Act of 1964." Before they begin make sure that they remember who Celler is and what his role was during the passage of the 1960 Civil Rights Act. Also make sure that they know the relationship of Robert Kennedy to President Kennedy. Remind pupils to answer the questions raised in the case study before they continue their reading. Also remind them to read the title of a table and all of the headings before they look at figures.	IA2a;B1a IIIA;C1 IVA1;C1b VIB1;C1b; D3c;E1e VIID VIIIB;C;D IXB2,3	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A, B, C.

G4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G3. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

G3a. Compromise is most likely to occur when there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

G3c. Accomodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

C1b. Conflict may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflict where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are at stake.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these

D. Kennedy tried to get the Judiciary Committee bill weakened somewhat, because he was sure that compromise was necessary to get any bill passed.

E. Still more civil rights incidents and new information on the lack of progress in voting rights led to a new push for legislation.

142. Discuss: Why did Robert Kennedy and President Kennedy try to get the Judiciary Committee to weaken the civil rights bill? Why did Celler make a statement trying to shift the blame for support for a weakened bill? Why did southern Democrats support the strong bill in the committee? Or instead of having a discussion at this point, ask several pupils to role-play a meeting of the Judiciary Committee in which they discuss the Kennedy testimony and their own reactions to amending the Celler bill.	III A I B; III A;C IV A1; C1b VI B1;C1b;D3c VIII C
143. Discuss the new events which helped give a greater push to civil rights legislation. Again you may wish to use illustrated oral reports on some of these events if pupils have not studied the Project's seventh grade course.	IA 2; C1a VI C 2b VII D XI A,D

goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G7. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G6c2. Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic.

G11. The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

S. <u>Draws inferences from tables</u>.

S. <u>Checks hypotheses against new data</u>.

144. Have pupils look once more at the tables in Part III of "The Civil Rights Act of 1964." Then discuss the questions which follow each table. What did these figures show about the effectiveness of the 1960 act? Why might the figures have had an effect upon the drive for new civil rights legislation?	I C1 VII D	West, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.
145. Have pupils check their list of hypotheses or tentative generalizations about factors affecting legislative decision-making. Does the data thus far on the civil rights struggle during 1963-1964 support or contradict these generalizations?	VI XI A	

S. <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations</u>. G8. In general, the style of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself. G4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in-reality. G6b. The decision-maker reacts to pressure — from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.	F. When Johnson became President, he used all of his influence to get a stronger civil rights bill; his constituency was now different than that when he was a senator.
G6d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	
S. <u>Applies previously-learned generalizations and concepts</u>.	G. The civil rights legislation faced a filibuster in the Senate.

146. Ask pupils: How did Johnson's stand on civil right's as President compare with his stand when he was majority leader in the Senate. Can you explain the differences: How did Johnson try to use his power as President to get a stronger bill? — [illegible]

Also ask: How might a change in constituency affect a man who has been a state senator or mayor who then becomes a U.S. senator? — IV A1; C1b; D3a,d
VI B1b
VIII A,B,D1b
XI E.

147. Ask pupils what change took place in the Rules Committee in 1961. Discuss the question in caps about the problem of getting a civil rights bill out of the rules committee even after this change. How had Rayburn's decision to just enlarge the Committee and give the South one of the new seats affected civil rights legislation? Suppose the House had decided to purge certain members instead. Would this have made any difference now? — VI A1; B2; E2,3

148. Before pupils begin reading part IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, ask them what problem they think the bill would face in the Senate.

G6a. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions. G6b. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers. G7. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	1. The attitudes of those leading the Senate fight had an effect upon the passage of civil rights legislation.
S. <u>Draws inferences from tables.</u> S. <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations.</u>	
G6d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are	2. The southerners filibustered in an attempt to win compromises, not with any hope of defeating a new bill entirely. 3. The Senate rules again affected the course of legislation and the kind of decisions made in the Senate.

149. Have pupils read the first part of Part IV of "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," up to the tables. Discuss the questions raised in this section of the Case Study.	VI A1 B2 VII A 1a VIII E 3	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.
150. Have a pupil report on Miller's analysis of the job of a whip. Or read the analysis aloud to the class. Ask: Would it matter who was whip when the civil rights legislation came to the floor of the Senate?	VII Ala.	Baker, ed. <u>Member of the House</u>, pp. 52-53.
151. Now have pupils read and analyze the table showing the civil rights voting record of Johnson, Mansfield, Humphrey, Dirksen, and Russell. Discuss the questions at the end of this table. Then have pupils read the second table and discuss the question which follows it.	VI A1	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.
152. Pupils should now read the rest of Part IV of the case study. Afterwards, have them compare the tactics used to end the filibuster with those used in 1960. Also discuss: What were the reasons for this filibuster in 1964? (Did the southerners have any hope of defeating any new bill?) How did the rules of the Senate affect	VI E2c	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C.

made; they thus affect these decisions.

G6c The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him, the party on whose ticket he ran, and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office.

G6c1 The interest group operates and attempts to bring influence to bear wherever in the political system public policy is being made.

G62c Attempts to influence the making of public policy differ in style and tactic.

S. <u>Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency</u>.

G8 In general the style of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.

H. The Civil Rights Act was finally passed after a cloture motion won and ended the filibuster.

decision-making in the Senate? (Review once more the meaning of institutions so that pupils will be sure to understand that rules and laws are part of institutions.)

153. Have pupils read Part V of the case study on "The Civil Rights Act of 1964." Then discuss: What influences were at work on Dirksen and the other congressmen to help persuade them to support a new bill?	IB3 IIA1; B1,9 IIIA2; B1,2,3 C1f IVA1 VIA1,2; B1b; 2c; C2a; E1e, 2c,3;D1b,3b,c VIIA1a, 3a b VIIIA; D1 XIA; B; C; E; F.	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964" Forms A, B, C
154. A good reader might present an oral report on Dirksen. He should evaluate the source for bias and competency.		Furlong, "Dirksen of Illinois," <u>Harper's Magazine</u>, <u>Dec., 1959</u>, pp. 44-49.
155. How had Humphrey's approach to Senate norms changed from the time when he attacked Senator Byrd? How effective were his new tactics as compared to his early ones in getting the legislation which he desired?	VIA2a,d; B2c, E3 VIIA3a,b VIII A	

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties or common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G3a Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

G3b Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement touching on the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.

G3c Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

156. A better reader might read another account of how Humphrey maneuvered as floor manager of the bill, and Humphrey's views of his role. He should report his findings to class.	VIA2a, d; B2c; E3 VIIA3a, b VIIIA,B	Griffith, <u>Humphrey</u>, pp. 266-268, 278-285.
157. Discuss: What factors made for compromise on civil rights? What other effects did the lengthy debate have upon the bill? How did the senators from our state vote on this bill? How did the President affect the legislation?	IIIA2; B1,3; C1f	
158. Have pupils compare the 1964 act with that passed in 1960 and also with Kennedy's proposals. Perhaps have a committee prepare a bulletin board display comparing the two acts.		

G2 Conginued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G3b Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching on the fundamental social economic, and political institutions.

A. SCEPTICISM OF EASY SOLUTIONS TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

I. Despite opposition to the act, southerners in general complied with the accommodations provision; however, some people refused to accept the changes and continued to deprive Negroes of their voting rights.

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is subject to varying influences.

G11 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and from people outside of government.

159. Have a committee investigate the results which followed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. To what degree did people comply without attempts to evade the act on public accommodations? How was the first court case of the act settled? Or, read aloud a quotation from a magazine or pamphlet or book summarizing the generally peaceful reaction of the South to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.	IIA1 IIIB1,2,3	Use Readers Guide.
160. By way of summary, have pupils discuss the questions at the end of the case study. Let them check back to their earlier lists on effects of institutions upon legislative decision-making, and upon factors affecting legislative decision-making. Do they wish to add to or modify any of the statements on their lists? Why?	VI XIA,B,C,D,E,F.	West, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," Forms A,B,C
161. Discuss an imaginary case of a southern Congressman who voted for strong civil rights bill -- what pressures might he find from his friends and own groups, as well as from voters? Do you think that some southern Congressmen will favor civil rights in the future? Why? (Have pupils check hypotheses against data from 1965 debate, when some southern Congressmen did support the new bill.)	VIC1; D2a,b,c.	

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

A IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS. VALUES INDEPENDENT THOUGHT.

S <u>Sets up hypotheses and tests against new data</u>.

G4 The separation of powers is built on the assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

X. The Executive plays an important part in the legislative process. The legislative branch also affects the executive branch. At times there is a power struggle between the two.

A. The President can use a number of ways of influencing congressmen; however, each president differs somewhat in how he views his legislative role.

162. Perhaps a group of pupils might investigate the pressures for new legislation. They might present their information in the form of a mock Judiciary Committee hearing on new legislation. Several of the pupils might assume the role of men testifying that no new provisions are needed on public accommodations; others might argue in favor of changes. The same might be done on voting rights in the light of the Selma affair. Afterwards, compare the kinds of things which gave impetus to the new legislation (1965) with the kinds of things which led to new acts in 1960 and 1964. IC1

163. A committee might prepare a bulletin board entitled: "Struggle over a New Civil Rights Act," or "White Backlash." IC1,2

164. Have pupils read current article about the civil rights struggle. Then have them prepare brief written predictions on what will happen in the field of civil rights legislation during the coming year. They should indicate with the use of underlining the generalizations on which they base their predictions. Later in the year, they can check to see if their predictions have proved correct or incorrect up to this point. (This may be too short a time for such a check. However, use this device if it seems appropriate. If not, discuss reasons why it is too early to decide whether or not they were correct.) IC

165. Have pupils think back over the three case studies. Discuss: What were the differences in the ways in which the three presidents tried to influence congressional decisions? What factors do you think can explain these differences? IVA1,C VIA VIIID1,2

G6d1 The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.

S. <u>Applies previously-learned concepts</u>

G6d1 The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.

B. Administrative departments frequently help Congressmen to prepare bills or may persuade them to modify bills to gain administrative backing.

166. Have a superior student read the story of Norris' fight to win legislation for the TVA, He should examine the story in the light of generalizations developed by the class in the study of the civil rights legislation, and he should report to the class on similarities and differences in these legislative struggles. He should also report on the role of the different presidents in the struggle to establish TVA.	VA1	See Bailey, and Samuel, <u>Congress at Work</u>, ch.8.
167. Have a superior student read and report on MacNeil's analysis of the role of the President as "chief legislator."	IVA1; C1, 2; D	MacNeil, <u>Forge of Democracy</u>, pp. 246-269.
168. Point out that neither Kennedy nor Johnson used a veto threat in the legislative struggle over civil rights. Tell class about examples of cases in which Congress modified legislation because of such a threat.	IVD VIEd	
169. Have a pupil read and report on Miller's account of how a congressman is likely to work with some member of the administration on developing a bill which he wishes to introduce. Discuss: What role is the administration playing in this case?(the role of executive or the legislative role)?	IVC	Baker,ed., <u>Member of the House</u>, pp. 10-12.
170. Read aloud a brief summary on the amount of time consumed in administrative testimony before congressional	IVA1 VIE	Cater, <u>Power in Washington</u> p. 132.

G4 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

C. At times the legislative and executive branches struggle with each other for power.

G4. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

committees in both houses. (What man that they know about testified over and over before committees in both houses?) Ask How do you think this overlapping testimony might be avoided? Discuss the possibilities. Then tell pupils about the proposals for joint committees or joint hearings.

171. Read aloud quotations from Congressmen denouncing the President or legislators denouncing a governor, or councilmen denouncing a mayor for interfering with legislation or usurping too much power. (Go back into history or use recent quotes or both.) Then read aloud quotations from executives attacking the legislative braoch especially in its attempts to control the budget or investigate or interfere with appointments. (You might use the historical example of Andrew Johnson.) IVD1,2

172. To illuminate the struggle between the two branches (executive and legislative), have pupils read from Kennedy and Johnson when they were senators and when they were President-- on the role of the President in influencing congress. (You might also use the historical example of the change in attitude on the part of John Q. Adams.) IVD1,2

173. Tell pupils of cases in which Congress handicapped the President in his handling of foreign affairs. VIE1d XIE XIIA2b

174. Have students watch newspapers for items to illustrate the power struggle between executive and legislative branches at different levels of government. IVD

175. Give students a sheet with summaries of cases of: (1) congressional investigating committee on uses of money appropriated to a department, (2) on executive decision to grant a contract (e.g. McNamara decision) to one company rather than another. Ask: Was Congress engaging in policy-making IVB

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

D. Political parties in Congress are frequently badly divided and lack party responsibility. Party members may not support a President from their own party. The ways in which committee members are appointed affects party responsibility.

G6 Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G9 Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have different motives for joining the group, different rates of participation, differing degrees of loyalty to the group, and different attitudes toward a number of issues.

G7 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

or engaging in administration of policy? What is the basis for the right of congressional committees to investigate?		
176. Ask pupils to try to find out some of the reasons for differences between the President and his own party members in Congress as they read the paper on Congressional Committees. Now have pupils read Part I of this paper and discuss the implications of the mdthods of choosing committee members for party responsibility and power relationships.	IVD3 VIE6 VIIAla, c.	West, "Congressional Committees"
177. Have pupils read the introduction to Part II of "Congressional Committees." Then analyze tables one by one, discussing questions on each before proceeding. Have pupils complete their reading of this part. Discuss the effects of the seniority system on power relationships, party responsibility, and decision-making.	IVD3e VIE5, 6,7b VIIB2 IXC2	West, "Congressional Committees"
178. Perhaps reread the section from the constitution on how senators and congressmen were to be elected when our constitution went into effect. Which house would be more likely to reflect changes in public opinion? Read quota-	VIE5b XC	

G9 Not all members of any group are exactly alike; they have different motives for joining the group, differing rates of participation, differing degrees of loyalty to the group, and different attitudes toward a number of issues.

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

tations from the Constitutional convention on what founders expected. What would they expect to have happen after senators were elected by the people? How was this change effected? Have pupils analyze votes in the Senate and in the House on socio-economic legislation in recent years to check on which house is more likely to vote for socio-economic or welfare legislation.		
179. Have pupils read Part III of "Congressional Committees" and discuss the causes of conflict between the congressional and the Presidential branches of a political party. Ask: How did the civil rights legislative struggle of 1963-1964 illustrate this conflict within the party? How did both case studies on civil rights legislation illustrate the tendency for certain regions and non-competitive districts to be heavily represented in key jobs in Congress?	VIE5d, 6, 7b VIIB2 IXB1	West, "Congressional Committees"
180. Have pupils develop a class list of pros and cons of the seniority system. Then have them read Part IV of "Congressional Committees" and reexamine the list. A pupil might prepare a bulletin board to summarize the arguments.	VIE6, 7b	West, "Congressional Committees"
181. Discuss other reasons for lack of party responsibility in Congress. Use examples from case studies and the paper on the House Rules Committee on the effects of two houses, the committee system, etc.)	VIE7b	
182. Discuss: From what you have learned so far, why do members of one political party differ in so many ways? Review with pupils what they have learned about reasons why people join different political parties. Also review the different reasons why people become politically active. Why might people with the same point of view join different political parties for ideological reasons? What factors influence voting decisions other than party membership? Point out that party membership <u>is</u> important	VIA1a, b, c; B1,2; C1,2,3a, b; E3 IXA	

G6d1 The separation of powers is intended to and does produce institutional deadlock and delay more often than parliamentary systems do.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect those decisions.

G6a Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

A. SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as from people outside of government.

F. Customs have developed which have modified the President's powers in dealing with Congress.

1. Senatorial courtesy limits his nominating power.

in voting for many legislators. Why? Is it only because of pressures party leaders can bring upon them? What would pupils expect the relationship to be between a legislator's opinions and those of members of his party in any one region? What kinds of pressures could party leaders use to influence them?

183. Put up the chart showing the parliamentary system of government (from overview). Ask class if they think parties would be more centralized or more decentralized under this system than in ours. Discuss reasons. Would the degree of centralization affect party responsibility in the national legislature?

IVD3
VIE7b

184. Now have pupils return to the paper on "The House Rules Committee" and read Part VI on the changes in the committee in 1965. They should discuss the question raised at the end of the paper. Do they think the changes will do away with any of the arguments against the Rules Committee? Why did the House change the committee twice? Why didn't it abolish the committee instead? Pupils should watch newspapers for any reference to the Rules Committee during the remainder of the unit. Do pupils think the change will mean fewer differences between the President and his own party members in Congress?

VIAla,b,c; E2c,3

West, "House Rules Committee" Forms A,B,C

185. Ask: How can the President try to get congressmen to vote in certain ways? Tell pupils about the custom of senatorial courtesy. Define this term and explain the custom. How has the custom modified the original intent of those who wrote the Constitution?

VIB1; Eld
XD
XIE

G11	The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	
G7	Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.	
G4	The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.	2. As Congress has entered more fields of complicated legislation, it has delegated many powers to executive departments and semi-independent administrative agencies.
G2	Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	

186. Have a good student report to the class on two cases of patronage fights. Discuss. (Try to help pupils see that a congressman may have power at one point but not at another in the political system.)	VIIA2c XD XIE	Bailey and Samuel, Congress at Work, ch. 5.
187. Point out that despite the struggle between the President and Congress, Congress has delegated more and more powers to administrative agencies and executive departments. Review with pupils what they learned in the executive unit about the powers delegated to administrative agencies to make policy. Give examples of delegation of powers to the President. Discuss reasons for delegating these powers to him or to administrative agencies. Is the President engaged in legislative or executive function when he uses these powers?	IVA2	

Culminating Procedures

188. Remind pupils that differences can also arise between houses in a legislature. Do you think the legislature would pass far fewer bills if the two houses are controlled by different parties? Give pupils a table on the number of bills passed in recent years when: 1) the two houses have been controlled by the same group and 2) when the two houses have been controlled by different groups. Or find some similar example for another state legislature or for Congress. (Perhaps compare first two years of Kennedy's administration with some other.) Ask pupils to compare. Why isn't there a bigger difference?	IIB10a, c	

G6b The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as from people outside of government.

G2 Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G6 Decision-making is subject to various influences.

S. <u>Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations</u>.

189. Have pupils summarize what they have learned about the norms in Congress. Review what pupils have learned so far about why legislatures follow the norms. Tell class about the financial help given congressmen up for re-election from the Congressional party committees and from local or state committees. How might this practice influence Congressmen's behavior?	IIB1-9 VIA2a, d; B2b; C3b VIIC3a	
190. Have a group of good students assume the roles delegated in an imaginary case of four congressmen being asked to take a stand on legislation proposed by the President. Descriptions of each congressman should be read by members of class. Then let a few students role-play their testimony before a committee studying the proposed legislation.	VI	Use imaginary case found in Eliot, et al. <u>American Government: [illegible] and Problems</u>.
191. If the state legislature is in session, have students choose an issue (e.g. sales tax, daylight saving time, auto safety, etc.) and by using interviews or newspapers find the answers to questions such as: 1. How did this issue reach the legislature? 2. What representatives were for it? Against it? What party or group did each represent? 3. What representatives faced role conflicts? Why? 4. Over what values was there conflict on this issue? 5. What legislative rules or norms affected the way in which the legislative conflict was worked out? 6. What compromises were involved in the solution? 7. What influences were brought to bear on the legislators? 8. Who were the leaders on both sides and what tactics did they use? How did the governor influence the course of the decision? Was there any conflict between the governor and the legislature? If so, why?	I IIB III IVA, C, D3b, c VI VII	

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A. VALUES INSTITUTIONS AS MEANS OF PROMOTING HUMAN WELFARE, NOT BECAUSE OF TRADITION; IS WILLING TO CHANGE INSTITUTIONS AS TIMES CREATE NEW PROBLEMS.

G6d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which autboritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

A. FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

G6 Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

XI. A number of proposals have been made for changing Congress.

9. What groups in the legislature appear to be the most powerful? least powerful?

192. Have a good reader examine Humphrey's suggestions for improving Congress in "To Move Congress Out of Its Ruts." Have another student examine Clark's suggestions. Both should report to class. Then discuss pros and cons. (Perhaps use committee for investigation of criticisms and proposals. Or perhaps organize a mock congressional session to debate proposals.) Also have pupils return to their earlier list of possible reforms (see activity 103) and decide what they now think about them. VIE

Burkhart, et al, American Government: The Clash of Issues, pp. 199-232.

Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, pp. 189-205, 166, 175-176.

193. Appoint a committee to follow news related to legislative process during the remainder of the year. It should report at regular intervals.

194. Have each pupil prepare a list of the key generalizations which he thinks he has learned from this unit. Compare lists in class or as a means of review. Do pupils think any of these ideas should help then study the judicial process?

195. Go back to the original chart on how Congress passes a bill. Have pupils check and perhaps modify their list of factors influencing legislative decision-making. Make a composite class list and number each factor. Using a piece of acetate, make an overlay showing where each VI

factor may affect the process of passing a law.

196. Give a unit test and discuss results. Have pupils evaluate strengths and weaknesses of unit.

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TEACHER'S GUIDE TO "LEGISLATORS VIEW THEIR ROLES"

I. This material is designed to help pupils develop the following generalizations:

Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government. (And sub-generalizations found in outline of content.)

Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions. (And sub-generalizations found in outline of content -- e.g. Legislators' perceptions of what their role as legislators should be vary greatly; these perceptions affect their decisions.)

The representative faces conflicting demands to represent the district which elected him and the entire political system to which he takes his oath of office. (With some of sub-generalizations on role conflict.)

II. Possible procedures for using paper.

1. Show the Film MAJORITY VOTE. Have pupils discuss the question of whether their representative on a student council should vote as she thinks best or as their group has indicated they want her to vote. Should she consider any events intervening between her vote and the expression of feelings on the part of her group. Do the students know as much about the matter to be decided as she does? Do students elect student council members because they think them good leaders? Is a good leader a follower of public opinion? If not, what role should he play? etc.

2. Make sure that the class understands the meaning of the following words:

constituents (and constituency)
coincide
hopper
capitol
controversial

Place these words on the blackboard and ask students to define them. Help with definitions if needed.

3. Have pupils read the quotations in set no. 1. Then have them discuss the pros and cons of each position as well as the questions raised at the end of this section. Be sure to discuss the question of whether or not a legislator can know what his constituents think about a bill when this bill is before the legislature. Do the voters have as much information as the legislator? Should the legislature assume some responsibility for helping to educate the voters?

4. Have pupils examine the the table which accompanies set no.1 and answer the questions which follow in writing. Before having pupils examine the table by themselves,

make sure that they understand that the term role-orientation refers to the position which the legislator takes as to how he should behave. Then discuss whether or not the class members agree with the majority of the legislators.

5. Ask pupils to read quotations in set No. 2. Before they begin, place the following words on the board and make sure that pupils understand them.

   prime (function)
   county
   detrimental
   prospective (laws)

   Be sure they also understand that 4 dots at the end of a quotation represent omitted words. Hold a discussion on the arguments pro and con on these different positions. Shift the discussion to one of similar positions on district, state, and national interests.

6. Ask pupils to read the next paragraph on competitive, safe districts, etc. to see if they understand the meaning of such terms. Then raise the question asked prior to the next table. Have pupils make guesses before they read the table. Then ask pupils to read the table and answer the questions in writing. Discuss with the class.

7. Ask pupils to read quotations in set No. 3. Before they begin, place the following words on the board and make sure that pupils understand them:

   acquaint
   parliamentary procedures
   enable

   Then discuss the questions following this set of quotations.

8. Discuss the last question which closes the paper. Review from seventh grade course if pupils took PSS course in 7th grade. Use what they learned about political socialization in unit on political parties and elections.

LEGISLATURES AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Frank J. Sorauf

Initially, any discussion of the legislative process in the United States must include an understanding of the important and relevant structural facts. The main problem here is the separation of the important from the unimportant. For that separation I would propose a single test: does knowledge of that fact or detail help the student understand the distribution of power in that legislative body or the behavior of individuals or groups within it? By that test one would not bother with materials such as the minimum age of Congressmen, their salaries, or the location of the hopper into which bills are introduced--to mention only a few of the trivialities that invade the textbooks.

The most important structural matters I would put into these categories:

1. The representational system: the definition of the legislative constituencies; the apportionment of seats (various theories and practices); the drawing of districts (gerrymandering, inequalities of population, etc.); the nature of the elections.

2. The organization of the legislative chamber: the selection of the presiding officers, the committees and their chairmen, and the bureaucracy and staffs of the committees and the chambers; the powers and authority of the various components of the organization.

3. The process and procedures of the transaction of business: the basic steps in the passage of legislation and the accomplishment of other lehislative purposes. (However, this material does not have to be as explicit as it often is with references to who reads the title of the newly-introduced bill, etc.).

4. Organization of the parties: the party conference or caucus; party leaders, whips, executive committees; majority party selection of the organization of the chamber.

5. The powers of the legislative body: its constitutional authority to act; the scope of the legislative power; non-legislative functions (impeachment, amendment of the constitution, approval of executive appointments, for example); its formal relationships with the executive and judiciary.

These basic, structural facts need not, of course, be developed by themselves. But if they are to be introduced in the course of a case or problem, care must be taken to make sure they are developed early enough to insure the student's understanding of the processes and behavior described.

Building on these basic informational components, a full-scale approach to American legislatures ought to approach the realities of the distribution of power, the influences upon the legislator and the entire legislature, the ways in which the legislative body sorts through alternatives and makes decisions, and the role the legislature plays in the entire political system. The main body of this paper will deal, paragraph by paragraph, with some foci for discussion that will move the discussion of the legislature into these genuinely significant issues. I would also like to think that they are also the most interesting and analytical questions one can ask about legislatures.

I. The Representativeness of Legislatures

In almost all legislatures, the constituencies are so drawn as to overrepresent some areas and underrepresent others. If legislators must be sensitive to those who elect them then that differential in representation will affect the legislative process and influence within it. In the U.S. Congress the overrepresentation has traditionally been that of rural areas, because of the nature of the Senate (two seats regardless of population) and the districting of seats in the House. More recently, it may be suburban and urban fringe areas which are underrepresented, rather than central cities. The issue of representativeness has another facet, that of the typicality of legislators themselves. American legislators are generally middle-class or upper class, male, white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant; they are better educated than the general population and come from higher status occupations. If the social experience and background of the legislator affects the way he sees public issues and priorities--and all evidence indicates that it does--then these differentials, too, will have immediate consequences on the operation of the legislature. In any event, an explanation of why certain people are recruited into legislatures is valuable in and of itself for what it reveals of the selection processes by which we choose public officials.

II. The Distribution of Power in the Legislature

The American legislature traditionally is organized into subject-matter commitees, those committees defining the division of labor within the legislative chamber and defining, too, the chief responsibilities of the individual legislator. In the Congress and many state legislatures, the real power of the chamber is fragmented into the committees and their powerful chairmen. We ought to be clear, initially, why the committees have become so powerful. It is necessary, additionally, to understand how the organizational machinery of the chamber--the presiding officers, the committees, and their chairmen--are chosen; how, in other words, one gains

access to these positions of power. As a practical question , one should also note the immediate question of who has gained access to these positions of power; who, for instance, holds the powerful committee chairmenships in Congress when the Democrats control the Senate and House? Who determines, and by what criteria, whether a new Representative will get a seat on the Appropriations Committee or the District of Columbia Committee?

III. The Political Parties in the American Legislatures

Since all but two American legislatures are organized by party majorities, one must study the role of the party in order to further understand the operation of the legislative process. On a national level it involves the conflict between the Congressional wing of the party, rooted in the local loyalties of the individual Congressmen and committed to Congressional independence, and the Presidential wing of the party with its ties to the national committee, the national convention, and platform of the party. Within the Congress the question of party concerns the selection of party leadership within the legialature and the nature of party power (to what extent can the party control the operation of the committees? To what extent can the party control the votes of its individual partisans in the chamber? What role does the party play in selecting the organization of the chamber?) Within the state legislatures the role of the

party is similar, although it is stronger in many of them than it is in Congress. The reasons for that greater strength -- greater party patronage, less experience of the legislators, greater party unity on the state level, the ability of state parties to control nominations in the primary, etc. -- are in themselves instructive.

IV. The Tasks and Functions of the Legislator

An assessment of the job of the individual legislator might begin with some idea of "his day" -- an exercise which indicates the nature of the demands upon his attention and his problem in allocating his time and energies. It might continue with a clearer, systematic picture of the nature of the demands upon him: his legislative job (committee centered), his politcal task (the continual race for re-election), his errand-boy role for his constituents, and his group and social life in the legislature. It should also include the assistance which he has in trying to meet his obligations, especially the nature and operation of his own staff and the more general help of committee and Library of Congress staffs. It might also include the way he defines his job -- his role perception -- and his relationships to the legislature, his colleagues,

the norms of the chamber, his party, his constituents, and the country as a whole.

V. Legislative Behavior

The concern here is with the way in which the legislators individually and collectively make their decisions on issues of public policy. The easiest and most common method analyzes the formal roll call votes. An analysis here might begin with those general categories of influence that impinge on the legislator: the interest group and their lobbyists (who are the lobbyists? what are their methods of influence? their sources of power? the factors which determine their access and power?), the President and the agencies of the executive branch, the voters and organized groups of the Congressman's constituency, the internal pressures within the legislative body (the norms and traditions of the body, the influence of legislator on legislator, etc.), and the legislator's political party. Although the American legislator reaches many types of balance among these pressures ---for many different reasons -- one can say that he is generally forced to heed the local demands of the local constituency. In American legislatures there are rarely centralizing powers great enough to offset the pull and tug of the local pressures. Ultimately, these issues come down to general theories of representation -- the legislator may represent X rather than Y, or A rather than B, but which of them ought he to represent in a democracy? Ought he to heed the party platform on which he was elected? the demands of his immediate constituency? Or his own personal perception of the national "public interest"?

VI. The Legislature in the Political System

Finally, an analysis of the legislature ought to include some discussion of the place of the legislature in the total political system. One might begin with an attempt to discuss in general terms the relationship with the other two branches of government -- not only in terms of formal "checks and balances", but in terms of their sharing and competing in the performance of political tasks and functions in the system. The student ought to have some idea of the struggle of chief executive with the legislature for control of administrative agencies and their powers. He ought also, to take another example, see that all three branches share the general rule-making function ("legislating") despite the formal concept of the separation. He should have some appreciation of the role of the legislature in a democratic political system, especially of the changing role of democratic legislatures in a complex, industrial society and in the face of the rise of personal, mass leadership by executives. Finally, he must e-

valuate the basic over-all impact of the functioning of the legislature on the rest of the political system. For example, one can argue that action in the Congress is by "concurrent minorities," that the diffusion of power and the overrepresentation of conservative political values thwarts quick, coherent majority action. If so, what consequences accrue for decision-making and consensus in the entire system? And finally, how does the reality square with dominant political values and democratic ideals?

Bibliography

The literature on American legislatures is considerable. For an overview of the United States Congress, two books are basic: George Galloway, The Legislative Process in Congress (Cronwell, 1953), and Bertram Gross, The Legislative Struggle (McGraw Hill, 1953). The Galloway is straighter, more purely factual; Gross casts the material in the analytical framework of an interest group theory. Malcolm Jewell has summarized the literature on state legislatures very succinctly in his The State Legislature: Politics and Practice (Random House, 1962). For a point of view more concerned with reform and evaluation of Congress, see Ernest Griffith, Congress: Its Contemporary Role (N.Y.U. Press, 1961, 3rd ed.) and Roland Young, The American Congress (Harper, 1958).

On specialized topics, the literature is even vaster. Both Andrew Hacker, Congressional Districting (Brookings, 1963) and Malcolm Jewell (ed.), The Politics of Reapportionment (Atherton, 1962) deal effectively with that subject. For material on the role of the party in legislatures, see: David Truman, The Congressional Party (Wiley, 1959); Frank J. Sorauf, Party and Representation (Atherton, 1963); and Julius Turner, Party and Constituency (Johns Hopkins, 1951). For material on the impact of constituency pressures and public opinion on legislatures, see: Duncan MacRae, Dimensions of Congressional Voting (U. of Calif., 1958) and Lewis Froman, Congressmen and Their Constituencies (Rand McNally, 1963). Two recent studies deal with the self-definitions and role perceptions of legislators: John Wahlke et al., The Legislative System (Wiley, 1962) and Charles Clapp, The Congressman: His Work As He Sees It (Brookings, 1963).

There have been many excellent case studies of the legislative process in Congress. Probably one of the best is Stephen Bailey's, Congress Makes a Law (Columbia, 1950); see also Daniel Berman's A Bill Becomes a Law (Macmillan, 1962), far briefer and less theoretical. Two excellent studies of less than the whole of Congress are: Donald Matthews, The U.S. Senators and Their World (Random House paperback ed., 1960) and James Robinson's The House Rules Committee (Dorsey, 1963). For excellent case studies in policy-making at the state legislative level, see Nicholas A. Masters et. al., State Politics and the Public Schools (Knopf, 1963).

These brief listings only scratch the available work on the American legislatures. In addition to the many books on the subject, the periodical literature is immense. Some of the better articles have been drawn together into the following books of readings: John Wahlke and Heinz Eulau, Legislative Behavior (Free Press, 1959), Robert Peabody and Nelson Polsby, New Perspectives on the House of Representatives; and Theodore Lowi, Legislative Politics U.S.A. (Little, Brown and Co., 1962).